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# THE JOHN P. BRANCH HISTORICAL PAPERS

OF  
RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE

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THE JOHN P. BRANCH  
HISTORICAL PAPERS  
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RANDOLPH - MACON COLLEGE

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JUNE, 1913.

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Preface.

The John P. Branch Historical Papers for 1914 will contain biographies of James McDowell, James Barbour, and Samuel Davies, together with some of the unpublished letters of Thomas Ritchie and John Floyd.

CHARLES H. AMBLER.



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## GOVERNOR JOHN FLOYD.<sup>1</sup>

By J. M. BATTEN, A. B.

The period extending from the close of the second war with Great Britain to the formation of the Whig party presents an interesting study in American political history. The old class of statesmen, men of the Jefferson and Madison type, who had founded our government and its institutions, were now passing from political life. With them passed away many of the old constitutional scruples. As a result of this change we entered a period characterized by its nationalistic tendencies. In time the States Rights party of Virginia and South Carolina arose in opposition to these tendencies. At the head of this party in Virginia stood John Floyd. The thirty years of his political life cover one of the most crucial periods in our history. Reverting to the old theories of strict construction, he adopted as his political creed the doctrines of state sovereignty as expressed in the Virginia resolutions of 1798. Judging men and measures by these resolutions he soon became the leader of the States Rights party and the champion of the doctrines of strict construction. The story of his life is the narrative of the early vicissitudes and struggles of his party.

Early in the seventeenth century Floyd's ancestors emigrated to this country from Wales. The earliest account of the settlement of the Floyds in this country records the arrival at Jamestown, in the year 1623, of "Nathaniel Floyd, age twenty-four years, in his own vessel, the *Nova*, bringing with him sixteen other persons."<sup>2</sup> Though the name of Nathaniel's brother, Walter, is not mentioned in this record, it seems that he accompanied him and that they used the *Nova* for a number of years in trading with the home country. However this may be, Walter *Floyd* appears, with associates, as the patentee of

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<sup>1</sup>Awarded the Bennett History Medal, 1912.

<sup>2</sup>*The Virginia-Kentucky Floyd Families*, N. J. Floyd, p. 6.





four hundred acres of land in "Martin's Hundred on Skiffe Creek," April 24, 1632. Five years later, November 1637, Nathaniel Floyd patented 850 acres of land in Isle of Wight county, and John Floyd, Thomas Hunt and others were the grantees, September 28, 1681, of Hog Island, containing 220 acres on the Atlantic coast opposite Northampton and Accomac counties. It is difficult to establish a definite relationship between these early settlers. However the Walter Floyd first mentioned was, in all probability, the father or grandfather of the John Floyd last mentioned and a lineal progenitor of the subject of the present sketch.

John Floyd had three sons, John, who went North; Charles, who went to Georgia and established a distinguished branch of the family in that State; and William, the father of Colonel John Floyd and the grandfather of Governor Floyd.<sup>3</sup>

William Floyd left the Eastern Shore and went into the interior of the State as far as Amherst county, which was at that time a very wild region. Here he met with a family by the name of Davis. The head of this family, Robin Davis, a wealthy Indian trader, had married a descendant of the noted Indian chief Powhatan.<sup>4</sup> Colonel William Floyd married Abidiah, the daughter of Robin Davis. The eldest son of this union, Colonel John Floyd, was born in Amherst county, Va., in the year 1751. His career must be considered in some detail as the first of the Floyds in whose veins flowed a touch of Indian blood, adding vigor and hardiness to the keen Welsh intellect. As a soldier, statesman, and expansionist, he labored in fields in which his son was to become even more illustrious.

At the age of eighteen Colonel John Floyd married a Miss Burfoot, who died one year after their marriage. Shortly after her death Colonel Floyd moved to Botetourt county, where he was engaged in teaching school and in writing in the office of Colonel William Preston, County Surveyor. He resided at Smithfield, the home of Colonel Preston. Whenever

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<sup>3</sup>Letter of Letitia Floyd to Benj. Rush Floyd.

<sup>4</sup>*The Virginia-Kentucky Floyd Families*, N. J. Floyd, p. 11.





the business of the Surveyor's office did not require his personal attention he rode as deputy sheriff under Colonel William Christian, the High Sheriff of the county. In the year 1775, Colonel Floyd went to Kentucky where he made surveys of extensive tracts of land embracing several counties of that State. He returned to Smithfield the following year after unparalleled sufferings. The Declaration of Independence had been signed at that time. Edmund Pendleton, Colonel Preston and several others purchased a schooner, had it fitted up as a privateer and gave the command to Colonel Floyd. He sailed to the West Indies and obtained a very rich prize. But on his return home, when nearly in sight of the Virginia Capes, he was overhauled by a British man of war, captured, taken to England, put in irons and imprisoned. There he remained one year. Floyd then effected his escape from prison, begged his way to Dover and procured passage to France. On his arrival at Paris he applied to Dr. Franklin, who furnished him with money and instructions to return to the United States. He returned in November, 1778, and soon afterwards married Miss Jane Buchanan.

One year after his marriage Colonel Floyd, with his family and several friends, moved to Kentucky. Here he settled on his fine estate, situated on Bear Grass Creek, only six miles from the present site of Louisville. Colonel Floyd proceeded at once to the organization of a county. At a meeting for this purpose he gave forth the prophetic utterance that "he felt that he had placed his foot on the threshold of an empire."<sup>5</sup> One of the greatest achievements of his own son was to be the direction of the eyes of the nation to the possibilities of this vast empire of the West.

But this settlement was by no means without its hardships. There was constant rivalry and bloodshed between the whites and the Indians. In these contests for the "dark and bloody land," Colonel Floyd, as the leading spirit in his community, took a prominent part. On one occasion he led a party of friends to assist Daniel Boone in the rescue of his daughter

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<sup>5</sup>Letter of Letitia Floyd to her son, Benj. Rush Floyd.





from a band of Indians. On several occasions he accompanied George Rogers Clarke on expeditions against the Indians, who were incited to a constant state of revolt by British agents. On the 13th of April, 1783, Colonel Floyd met his death in one of these frequent Indian attacks, being shot by a party of Indians from ambush.

Only a few days after the death of Colonel Floyd, April 24, 1783, his third son was born and named John, in his memory. Upon settlement the vast estates of Colonel Floyd went to his wife, who, one year after his death, was married to Captain Alexander Breckinbridge. This union was rendered unhappy by the intemperate habits of Breckinbridge. Colonel Floyd's children, however, were well treated and received every advantage given Breckinbridge's own sons. John Floyd was sent at an early age to the neighboring schools of Jefferson county, Ky. His promising qualities soon attracted the notice of Mr. John Brown, a prominent member of Congress. In 1796 he proposed to place Floyd at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Penn. He made arrangement for Floyd's support while at college, and Floyd entered the school the following session. His guardian, however, misdirected the funds set aside for his education, ceased his advances, and young Floyd was left in a state of destitution. At the suggestion of his teachers, he decided to work his way back to Kentucky. His condition at the time was so impoverished that he was forced to borrow clothes from a boatman.

In 1801, Robert Breckenbridge, Floyd's guardian, died and in February of that year Floyd returned to Carlisle and resumed his studies, which were again interrupted by a violent illness which so impaired his health that he was forced once more to return to Kentucky. His step-father then proposed that he study medicine. This Floyd consented to and received his early training in that science, first under the personal instruction of Dr. Richard Ferguson, of Louisville, Ky., and later under Dr. Benjamin Rush, a prominent physician, politician, and churchman of Philadelphia. In May, 1801, he married Miss Laetitia Preston, a highly accomplished daughter of





Colonel William Preston. In October, 1804, Floyd entered the University of Pennsylvania and there pursued his medical studies. In April, 1806, he graduated from that institution as Doctor of Medicine.

After graduation Floyd settled in Montgomery county, va., on his large estate near Sweet Springs. He engaged in the practice of medicine and very soon attained a distinguished eminence in his profession. His home and all the suitable buildings of his plantation were converted into a sanitarium for patients who came from distant counties to receive medical and surgical treatment from him. But the restless and adventurous spirit of the father soon revealed itself in the son. Desiring a broader field for the exercise of his talents he embarked at an early age in the world of politics. His personal characteristics—a commanding figure, made singular by his resemblance in height, erectness of person, gait, color, straightness of hair and dark, keen rolling eyes, to the finer looking of the American Indians—in fact, the personation of an Indian chief combined with a well stored mind, a bold and manly elocution and a genuine love of country, well qualified him for success in that field. In 1807, at the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed Justice of Peace. In the following year he was commissioned as a major of the state militia, thus beginning a period of almost thirty years of continuous service to his State.

From his father he had inherited a fondness for military affairs. When the war of 1812 began Floyd was posted at Norfolk. Here he served for some time as a surgeon in the Virginia line. In 1814 he was elected to the State Legislature, where his efforts were directed towards two ends in particular—the promotion of the internal improvement of the State and the organization and equipment of a more adequate and efficient state militia. The condition of the State made legislation imperative along both lines. Virginia lay at the feet of the conqueror. Hampton had been sacked and the British were in practical control of the whole of the tide-water section. With the enemy so much in the ag-



gressive it was vain to hope for a favorable peace. Floyd held that an honorable peace was to be obtained only by a vigorous prosecution of the war. Accordingly in November, 1814, he heartily supported a resolution in the House of Delegates condemning the proposed Treaty of Ghent as suicidal to the interests of Virginia. The remedy for the situation, he thought, was to be found in the strengthening of the militia of the several States. He accordingly supported all measures for the increase, better organization and equipment of the Virginia militia.

The debates on internal improvement occupied a prominent place in the discussions of the Assembly of 1814-'15. Not only did Floyd, as a citizen of the western section of the State, realize the need of such improvements, but he also regarded them as the only solution of a problem which was fast becoming the most difficult with which the Virginia legislators had to deal. The West continually protested against the unequal taxation and representation which resulted from the failure of the Virginia Constitution of 1776 to provide for the adequate representation of this rapidly growing section of the State. A violent jealousy had arisen between the eastern and western sections of the State. The Staunton Convention of 1816 revealed the earnestness of the western counties in their efforts to gain reforms which the East was unwilling to grant. While some extremists were advocating a division of the State, Floyd persistently held up internal improvement as the sole remedy for the situation. Only by uniting the various sections of the State with a network of roads and canals could the interests of all the sections be made common. A plan for a vast system of internal improvements was presented to the Legislature of 1814-15. Floyd favored this plan and supported the adoption of the report which suggested this scheme. In his discussion of the report, however, he revealed his regard for states rights principles and opposed a provision of the report which suggested the expediency of a federal appropriation, regarding such an appropriation on the part of the federal government as unconstitutional. The report was, however, adopted in its





entirety by the Legislature of 1814-15, but many of its provisions were not carried into effect until years later and then under Floyd's own supervision as governor and president of the James River Company.

Floyd's active career in the State Legislature did not escape the notice of his constituents and the people of adjoining counties. In 1817 he was elected to Congress to succeed James Breckinbridge who had represented the Montgomery District since 1809. The congressional election of 1817 throughout the whole State resulted in the election of a body of young men, and Floyd soon became the acknowledged leader of the body. James Pleasants, later Governor of Virginia, and a colleague of Floyd in Congress, characterizes him as "the efficient head of the Virginia delegation. Others harangued more lengthily and learnedly, but his opinions were most referred to and his moral influence the greatest."<sup>6</sup>

The first session of the Fifteenth Congress to which Floyd was elected proved a memorable one. Henry Clay, impelled either by a patriotic regard for the South American Republics which were at that time striving to gain their independence from Spain, or by a desire to annoy Monroe's administration, presented a bill in the House on the 24th of March, 1818, to the effect that the United States send a minister to the United Provinces of the La Plata and that further recognition be afforded the South American Republics. Clay's speech in support of the bill ranks as one of his masterpieces and was known as his "opposition speech," since from that time forward his policy continued to run counter with that of the administration. Two days after Clay's great speech, March 26, 1818, Floyd made his first appearance on the floor of the House. Although a friend of both Clay and Monroe he was now impelled by his sympathy for the South American Republics rather than any personal or political relations with either of the two men, and gave his hearty support to the bill.

He saw in the South American Republics a "brave people disdaining the shackles of a foreign despot, wading through

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<sup>6</sup>*Richmond Whig*, August 24, 1837.





rivers of blood to erect their constitutions upon a firm basis." There was a striking resemblance between their condition and our own at the time of the Revolutionary War, but with the difference that Spain, "bloated with false pride," was unwilling to recognize their independence when won. The proposition had been attacked on the basis that it would lead to difficulties with Spain in Florida, but to move on such a basis "would be to measure justice by the smiles and frowns of another continent." Commercial advantages also called for American intervention. Conditions in South America had warranted an uprising. Education had been restricted. The system of governing by deputies had proven unsatisfactory. Personal liberty had been disregarded. Thus oppressed the colonies had revolted and gained their independence. This England was about to recognize because of her eagerness for commercial advantages and Russia because of her love of territory. Then it was proper that America, as a free country, should first recognize their independence and receive the advantages of commerce and friendship. Such a friendship would lead to an "American Policy" as an offset to the "European Policy," and an American alliance to counteract the Holy Alliance, thus freeing the United States from the effects of the political plexus which had so entangled the nations of Europe. These were the arguments which in time led to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine and which were still later to be repeated in support of American intervention in Cuba. However, when first presented, they were doomed to defeat, and Clay's motion for recognition was lost by a vote of forty-five to one hundred and fifteen.

Clay's second thrust at the administration came in his support of internal improvements by the Federal Government. As a representative of western needs he favored such improvements at this time and later made vast schemes for work on roads and canals at federal expense, which play a prominent part in his American system. Monroe had declared his opposition to such legislation on constitutional grounds. When the bill



for military appropriations was introduced in the Fifteenth Congress it contained an appropriation to cover the cost of some work done on roads by a company of soldiers. This bill, though insignificant in itself, was regarded by the friends of Clay as a test measure. It is interesting to note Floyd's position on this subject. His position in the debate on the status of the South American Republics revealed the fact that he was not allied in any way with the old group of Virginia statesmen which Monroe at that time represented. His position on this bill showed that his alignment with the Clay party was only temporary. Although an ardent supporter of internal improvement, he thought the matter should be left in the hands of the several States, regarding any measure giving the general government power to make roads as unconstitutional. Accordingly he opposed the bill, showing early in his congressional career that principles, not men, were to guide his policies.

In the second session of the Fifteenth Congress Floyd participated in a debate which assumed greater political consequence than those of the preceding spring. This debate took the form of a clash between Clay and Jackson and had as its basis the rather authoritative conduct of Jackson in a recent campaign in Florida. In December, 1817, Jackson had taken command of the army on the southern frontier with orders to pursue and punish the Indians for their depredations in that quarter. As the Administration understood it he was to respect the rights of Spain who still held the Floridas, but had let them become a veritable harbor for pirates and Indian tribes constantly making raids on our southern frontier. Jackson, assuming command, broke into Florida March, 1818, took the Spanish fort of St. Marks, summarily ordered the shooting of Ambrister and Arbuthnot. English agents found among the Indians, and assumed all the dignity of a conqueror. On January 10, 1819, the House began the consideration of the report of the Military Committee "disapproving the proceedings in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister" together with other resolutions condemning the conduct of the war in general. A great debate followed. Clay and his friends supported the resolution since





they saw in it a chance to crush the popular idol and pave the way to the presidency. Floyd recognized the end in view, and although he still remained the personal friend of Clay, he now became his political enemy, a relation which continued to exist throughout nearly the whole of his career. Floyd supported the cause of Jackson in the debate and became one of his staunchest defenders.

In his opinion the measures Jackson had taken "could be maintained on every principle of justice and the long established uses of the government."<sup>8</sup> Those desiring to censure Jackson had declaimed against the military proceedings on the ground that they were carried on without the consultation of Congress. Floyd pointed out that such consultation was not necessary in dealing with Indian tribes. Why delay until a meeting of Congress, while citizens were being butchered and robbed? Congress had sanctioned this as much as it had sanctioned any Indian war. The crossing of the Florida line in "hot pursuit of the enemy" was in an effort to bring to justice criminals who harboured there unmolested, due either to the inability or unwillingness of Spain to suppress them. As to the punishment of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, he recalled the vast massacres to which the Indians had been incited by such British agents. His own father had been murdered on the Kentucky frontier by a band of Indians stirred to revolt by agents of this very type. The evidence showed that this was the business in which they were engaged and for his part, he was unable to feel that "sickly sorrow for them shared by the friends of the resolution." Floyd also expressed his disapproval of Clay's method to down his rival. Clay's fear that "the day is close at hand when some daring chieftain, after another splendid victory, will strut in his gaudy costume, casting a look of approbation as he walks between rows of admiring vassals and seizes upon our liberties" was far less dangerous in Floyd's mind than the dread of "some disappointed orator who has contributed to the fall of many successful administrations with the hope of one day possessing

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<sup>8</sup>*Annals of Congress*, January 16, 1819.



the power himself." The defenders of Jackson were successful. The resolutions condemning his conduct failed to pass. The debate marks the beginning of a long period throughout which Floyd is found continually in opposition to Clay. Clay gradually became the friend of internal improvement and high tariff, thus building up the famous "American system"—favorable to the interests of the Western settlers and the New England manufactures, but fatal to the interests of the South.

The tariff of 1820, which gave concessions to the protectionist advocates and received the opposition of nearly all the southern members, served to arouse ill feeling between the North and South, and this sectional feeling received new impetus from the controversy over the admission of Missouri. When the Sixteenth Congress met an anti-slavery debate was precipitated by a proposal for the admission of Missouri into the Union. The North, fearing a slave holding majority in Congress, refused to admit Missouri unless that territory should agree to give up its slaves and it should be agreed that no other slave holding State should be admitted west of the Mississippi. Floyd recognized the sectional nature of the quarrel. He entered the fight for the admission of Missouri without restriction. Clay poured oil on troubled waters by effecting a compromise by which it was agreed that Missouri should be admitted as a slave State on the condition that no other slave holding States should be admitted north of her southern boundary. To any compromise Floyd was opposed. His opposition to compromise was shown when the votes for president and vice-president were being counted in the House, February 4, 1821. When the vote for Missouri was presented a member arose and objected to its count on the ground that "Missouri was not a State of the Union." By the former compromise a bill for admission had passed and since that time the people of the State had gone through the steps necessary for the assumption of statehood. Such a resolution then called into question all of the former action. Floyd immediately arose and offered a resolution that "Missouri is one of the States of this Union and her votes for President and Vice-





President of the United States ought to be received and counted." In a speech in support of his resolution he attempted to prove that Missouri had complied with the necessary qualifications for statehood. For his part no further concession could be made. "Sir, we cannot take another step without hurling this government into the gulf of destruction. For one I can say, I have gone as far as I can in the way of compromise; beyond this, compromise must be made at the point of the sword."<sup>9</sup> The debate on the status of Missouri threatened for a time to revive the discussion of the whole question. But the great pacificator compromised this point also by having the vote to read as so much with the vote of Missouri and so much without—the issue of the election being the same in each case. By this and the former compromises Missouri was recognized as a State of the Union, but the agitation over negro slavery had started in Congress and jealousies were gradually to draw the great sections of the country apart until finally "further compromise was made only at the point of the sword." Throughout the remainder of his career in Congress Floyd's activities fall into two general divisions—opposition to Clay's American system and agitation for the occupation of the Oregon country by the United States.

What must be done with Oregon had long been one of the most difficult diplomatic problems with which our statesmen had to deal. Floyd did not settle this question, but he called the attention of the nation to the possibilities of the territory and started an agitation which culminated in its final acquisition and organization in the year 1846. Following the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, a controversy had arisen over our Northwest boundary. The terms of the treaty provided that all territory taken during the war should be restored to its former owners. On this ground the United States claimed an extension of the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific as the real boundary. This the British Government refused to concede. Since the two nations were unable to settle their claims satisfactorily they agreed, October 20, 1818,

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<sup>9</sup>*Annals of Congress*, February 4, 1821.



to a convention providing for joint occupation of the territory during a period of ten years. Spain and Russia had also asserted claims to the territory but in the following year Spain waived her claim to all territory north of the 42d parallel. In 1821 Russia projected a claim to all the lands as far south as the 51st parallel. Both England and the United States vigorously protested against this claim. The assertion of the Russian claim presented a favorable moment in which to come to a definite decision as to the real status of the territory. To this end, on the 19th of December, 1820, Floyd offered a resolution that a committee be appointed to inquire into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific coast and the expediency of occupying the territory about the mouth of the Columbia river. The resolution was passed and Floyd was appointed chairman of the committee to investigate the matter. The committee having made a thorough study of the situation made its report January 25, 1822. This report gave an exhaustive summary of the conditions in the Northwest. It justified the claims of the United States to the territory by right of discovery and possession, discussed the immense value of the fur trade of the country, its agricultural possibilities, fishing industries, military and commercial advantages. It also pointed out that immediate action on the part of United States was necessitated by the recent assertion of the claims of Russia and England to the territory. The committee recommended the immediate occupation of the territory about the mouth of the Columbia river and presented a bill to effect this and regulate trade with the Indians in that quarter.

When the bill came up for debate, December 19, 1822, Floyd opened the discussion. The period 1820-30 is marked in our history as a great period of American expansion. Floyd was the precursor of and leader in this movement and in this debate he is at his best. His speech summarized the history of the country and gave an account of its condition at this time. To settle the question as to whether the country belonged to the United States he reviewed the history of the discovery of the Columbia river, its exploration, the expedition of Lewis and





Clark and the foundation of Astoria as an American trading post on the Pacific coast—all the results of American enterprise and capital. In consideration of the value of the country he discussed the fur industry with great detail. The British taking advantage of the privileges of joint occupation had gained a firm hold on this industry, and the United States was fast losing its claim to the whole of the territory, due to the establishment of a vast system of British trading posts. They carried their furs nearly three thousand miles and encountered seemingly insurmountable difficulties in passage. For the United States to gain possession of this valuable trade it was only necessary to station a few men on the upper waters of the Missouri and confine the British to their own domain. If such a trade could be carried on by the British under such disadvantageous circumstances, and yet with profit, surely the United States, on account of its situation, could carry on the trade with much greater gain. Only two hundred miles of portage intervened between the navigable waters of the Columbia and Missouri rivers. Objection would undoubtedly be made to the distance of the territory but such navigable water would enable the steamboat to play a prominent part in the transportation of furs and other articles of commerce. The introduction of the steamboat had made Oregon nearer, in point of time, to the Capitol, in 1822, than St. Louis had been in 1812. Vast industries and enormous wealth would result from the American occupation of the country. The possibilities in fur trade, whale and seal industries, in the agricultural development of the country and in trade with China were pictured with almost prophetic insight. But the advantages that would follow occupation of the country received slight consideration when first pictured to the members of the House. Floyd's associates cared little for a possession so distant. They desired to let the matter stand as it was, and Floyd's motion was tabled.

Floyd did not stop at a single defeat. He renewed his efforts in behalf of occupation at every favorable opportunity and with such persistency that he was familiarly called "Oregon Floyd" by his friends in Congress. Efforts on the part of



our representatives to secure a final settlement of the Oregon difficulty failed, and, in 1824, Monroe in his annual message called the attention of Congress to our interests on the Pacific Coast and urged the establishment of a military post at the mouth of Columbia river.<sup>10</sup> The House once more took up the consideration of the original bill for occupation. Floyd again renewed his efforts in its behalf. He made a strong speech in favor of the bill, reiterating the sentiment of the committee's report and his own arguments for occupation in the former debate, dwelling especially upon the military and commercial advantages to be gained by occupation of the territory and recalling a recent imperial edict, issued by the Czar of Russia which asserted a claim to the whole of the territory in question. This time his efforts were attended with better success and the bill passed the House by a vote 113 to 57. In the Senate, however, it met with strong opposition. Although supported by a few expansionists, prominent among whom were James Barbour, of Virginia, and Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, it was opposed by many of the members. Some of these ventured so far as to express a desire that the Rocky Mountains be made the everlasting boundary of the Union. The opponents of expansionism once more proved to be in the majority, and the bill was lost by a vote of twenty-five to fifteen.

In 1827 the convention providing for joint occupation of Oregon was renewed indefinitely with the provision that either party might end it with one year's notice. In the meantime there had been a great movement of immigration towards the West. Many of our citizens had settled there and they greatly desired an organized government for the protection of their rights. This need led once more to the introduction of the bill for the occupation of Oregon which was considered in December, 1824.<sup>11</sup> Floyd, as usual, was the chief supporter of the bill. But the advocates of American expansion were gradually becoming more numerous. Men were beginning to real-

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<sup>10</sup>*Debates of Congress*. December 1, 1824.

<sup>11</sup>*Debates of Congress*. December, 1824.





ize the value of the great country to the westward and several influential members supported the bill. Their efforts, however, were once more doomed to failure. Those opposing the bill claimed that Oregon was a mere desert, that it would never be colonized to any extent. Notwithstanding these predictions only twenty years later a delegate from Oregon was to have a seat in the House. The cry of Polk's campaign "54° 40' or fight" was to become an expression of the desire of the whole nation for the territory. Under Polk's administration a compromise was effected. In 1846 a treaty was signed with England which fixed as the northwestern boundary of the United States the 49th parallel extending westward from the crest of the Rocky Mountains through the middle of the southern channel of the stream separating Vancouver Island from the mainland and thence to the Pacific Ocean. The Oregon territory had been gained. How much we owe to John Floyd for its acquisition it is difficult to say. Certainly he initiated the movement which lead to the final acquisition of the territory—an achievement which gives him foremost rank among the early American expansionists.

The American system, founded by Henry Clay, had as it's chief objects the promotion of internal improvements by federal appropriations and the adoption of a high tariff with the purpose of protecting American manufactures. Floyd persistently opposed both measures since he considered them unconstitutional and contrary to the principles asserted in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. The tariff bill of 1816, which provided for light duties on imports, had given place to that of 1820, which Floyd characterized in the debate over its adoption as "oppressive and ruinous." In 1824 another tariff bill was introduced into the House. At this time the Clay and Adams party had united and they found it easy to propose and pass even more radical measures. The tariff of 1824 provided for higher duties than had been imposed by any previous measure. It was the first tariff having for its professed object the protection of American manufactures. On March 24, 1824, Floyd took part in the debate on this bill. Frequent



reference had been made in the course of the debate to former tariff measures and the assertion had been made that the duties on some articles were no higher than in the former bills. Floyd called the attention of the House to the fact that the former tariff bills had been professedly for revenue—this was for a different object, therefore no parallel could be drawn. He protested against the tendency of the government to favor the manufacturing interests of the country to the utter detriment of its agricultural interests. He insisted that the bill would not benefit the farmers of the country, who were being lost sight of in the “mad tendency of our country to become a nation of weavers.”<sup>12</sup> However the interests of the agricultural South were disregarded, and the tariff of 1824 passed the House by a vote of 105 ayes to 102 noes.

In the twentieth session of Congress the Clay-Adams party once more proposed an increase in tariff duties—this time with the professed object of protecting American manufactures. In a speech on the protection of manufactures, December 31, 1827, Floyd demonstrated his bitter opposition to the policy of continued increase. After considering the injury to the agricultural interests that would follow upon the increase of the duties, he arraigned in severe terms the tactics adopted by the friends of protection. “I have been a member of this House when the former tariff bills were passed and was once a member of the Committee on Manufactures, and I well remember that from the very first tariff down to the last which passed this House the same cry was constantly repeated, ‘Give us but this and we will be satisfied.’ . . . A gentleman from Pennsylvania has told the House with very great emphasis that he never voted against a tariff bill, and never will vote against one. Almighty God! and are we come to this state of things? . . . I appeal to the House whether it is not time to put some stop to this eternal cry about protection. From 1818 to this hour the manufacturers have been continually telling us that they would be satisfied.”<sup>13</sup> But the friends of protection succeeded

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<sup>12</sup>*Debates of Congress*, March 24, 1824.

<sup>13</sup>*Debates of Congress*, December 31, 1827.





in increasing the duties on imports. On April 22, 1828, the tariff bill passed the House by a vote of 105 ayes to 94 noes. Once more the Southern interests had lost. A bill had been passed which Randolph characterized as "an act to rob and plunder nearly one half of the country for the benefit of the residue."<sup>14</sup> The tariff had increased and the South was soon to despair of ever obtaining relief within the halls of Congress. She must now call into action the reserved rights of the States as the only check against injurious legislation. The result was the nullification of the tariff laws by South Carolina only four years later.

The American system had as its second object the promotion of internal improvements by federal appropriations. Little legislation had been effected towards this end prior to 1824. Clay had on several occasions introduced measures providing for such improvements. Whenever such a bill was presented Floyd invariably opposed it. His opposition to the system had been marked even during his term of service in the State Legislature. In 1824 a union of the Clay and Adams forces led to a renewal of the propositions for internal improvements, and in the closing period of his career in Congress Floyd's efforts were spent in opposition to such measures. Floyd's opposition to the system brought him into a clash with the administration. Adams favored internal improvements. In 1827 he sent a corps of engineers to make surveys in Virginia. Whatever may have been the motive of Adams the route surveyed by the engineers was altogether unsuitable for improvement. This opened the administration to the accusation that it was trying to win favor in the State by having it appear that should the present administration be returned to office by the impending election, improvements along the routes surveyed would follow. Floyd was zealous in supporting these charges. On the 2d of January, 1828, he supported a resolution providing for an investigation of these surveys. His speech expressed a strong disapproval of the whole administration and especially questioned its motives in the present matter. "We in Vi-

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<sup>14</sup>*Debates of Congress*, April 22, 1828.



ginia have some feeling as to the conduct of the administration on this point. The late Governor of the State seemed to think that the engineering performed there by order of the general government was merely a bribe for her good opinion."<sup>15</sup> This attack of Floyd and his colleagues and the debate and investigation which followed made the administration appear in a rather questionable light. In fact this attack, together with the general unpopularity of Adams, made his re-election impossible.

Floyd took a very prominent part in the presidential election of 1828. He was the friend of Jackson and supported him in that election, regarding him "as the only man capable of bringing the government back to the true states rights principles. The re-election of Adams was almost impossible. It remained then for Jackson to defeat Clay. In accomplishing this no man in his party took a more prominent part than did John Floyd. As a political leader in his own State he joined forces with Littleton W. Tazewell, Thomas Ritchie, and John Tyler, and their combined political influence carried the State overwhelmingly for Jackson. But his real service was more national in character and lay in the fact that he, above all other men, was responsible for the charges of a "corrupt bargain" between Clay and Adams. For his own part he disclaimed any belief whatever in the charges. Their origin presents an interesting study in political intrigue. The election for president in 1824 had been thrown into the House of Representatives. Clay held the balance of power in the House and could throw the election to either Jackson or Adams. He decided to throw his influence to the cause of Adams, hoping thereby to gain popularity with the North and thus secure his own election to the presidency at the next election. Soon after the election of Adams, Floyd held a conversation with Clay in which, as a personal friend, he advised Clay against the acceptance of any office at the hands of the administration. This conversation was to become a momentous factor in the next election. We quote from Floyd's own account of it: "I

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<sup>15</sup>*Debates of Congress*, January 2, 1828.





urged him to a different course, if notwithstanding he did vote for and cause Mr. Adams to be elected, that he would not take office under him; that he and his father were both unpopular and never could be otherwise, as they were the party fond of power and strong government; that if he, Clay, continued in the House of Representatives as Speaker he would be the most powerful and influential man in the Union, since he was popular with the House and could at any time govern and control the legislation of the country. This position I urged upon him, telling him that by occupying such a station he would be able to prevent Mr. Adams from running into those excesses of power which his opponents in my party so much feared and if he did so, that his influence would then be able to arrest it and for that service all who feared tyranny would come to his support and that ultimately success must attend his efforts, and if he took office under Mr. Adams that then, from the controller of Mr. Adams, he sunk into the subordinate agent, acting under his orders and having caused him, Adams, to be elected, would be held responsible for his acts; that he knew Mr. Adams was a man without judgment, full of conceit, obstinate and intractable, that he had done so many things in his life that a person ought not to be surprised at anything he might do, and Mr. Adams could not be made acceptable to the people of the Union."<sup>16</sup> This was equivalent to an offer to throw the States Rights party of the South to Clay's influence and secure his election to the presidency, if he would only forsake the "Northern Harpies," as Floyd termed his northern allies. But this Clay refused to do. Such a refusal meant that the States Rights party must now turn to Andrew Jackson as the only representative of their interests. We quote further from the conversation, "To which Mr. Clay replied that Adams was unpopular and disposed to claim much power for the federal government, but surrounded as he would be by men of character and experience in public affairs, he would get along very well (or rather his identical words, 'we will get along very well'), and a great deal could be done. Then he used

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<sup>16</sup>*Diary of John Floyd.*



these memorable words, 'Give us the patronage of the government and we will make ourselves popular.'"

Floyd mentioned this conversation to some of his friends. The whole conversation was then published. Floyd had no idea at the time that the words would have an injurious effect upon the character of Clay. He knew that an attempt to explain the affair would make matters worse, so he remained silent. The very worst construction was put upon the words and the charges of bribery and corruption against Clay, who soon afterwards became Secretary of State, stirred the whole nation. In the election of 1828 the conversation did much harm to both Clay and Adams, and particularly to Clay. It made the election of Andrew Jackson a matter of ease, and in 1828, he received a large majority over Adams.

In the meantime in Virginia there had been a constant agitation for a constitutional convention. Agitation to this end had early shown itself in the Staunton Convention of 1816. Finally the Legislature of the State during the session of 1827-28 referred the question of calling a convention to the vote of the people. Accordingly the polls were opened and a majority of the voters signified their desire for such a convention and elected delegates to it. This convention, which met in October, 1829, was composed of some of the most distinguished men of the time, such as ex-Presidents Monroe and Madison. Chief Justice Marshall, former governors of the State, and men of great political reputation in the legislative halls of the State and nation. Ritchie in his Preface to the Debates of the Convention writes, "Some men held it to be equal to the celebrated convention which met in Virginia in 1788 to pass on the Federal Constitution."<sup>17</sup> In such an assembly one would naturally expect to have found John Floyd, by far the most influential man in his county at that time, but, on the contrary, the Montgomery District was represented in the convention by Gordon Cloyd, a man of mediocre talents. In 1828 Floyd declined a re-election to Congress, and in the same year he declined an appointment as Governor of the Arkansas Territory.

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<sup>17</sup>*Debates of Virginia Convention, Preface.*





The secret of this apparent withdrawal from public life is to be found in the disappointment and chagrin caused by his failure to receive the cabinet position which he expected to receive from Jackson and the concentration of his energies upon his candidacy for the governorship of the State which came to a successful termination in 1830, Floyd being elected to succeed William B. Giles, having defeated his opponent, D. V. Daniel by a majority of three to one.

The Constitutional Convention had spent a long session in an effort to heal over the old difficulties and reconcile the eastern and western sections of the State. The Convention came to a close January 15, 1830. The result of the deliberations of the convention was an "amended Constitution," which was a concession to the western counties in that it extended the suffrage to some extent and adopted a more equitable basis of representation. The mixed basis, however, was retained. On the 15th of February, 1830, by a vote 55 to 40 in the State Legislature the amended Constitution was referred to the people for ratification. Floyd took the oath of office as Governor March 15, 1830, and among the first of his official acts was a proclamation declaring the amended Constitution to be ratified by a popular vote of 26,055 to 15,563. It now remained for Floyd, as Governor, to accomplish a great deal towards the healing of the wounds which had been irritated by the discussion of the woes of the western counties.

The first session of the State Legislature under Floyd's administration was one of the most important in Virginia's history. The old Constitution under which the State had enjoyed tranquillity and prosperity for half a century was now supplanted by an amended Constitution with which both east and west were dissatisfied, "the one having lost more than was hoped and the other side having gained less than was desired." Open threats of dividing the State had been made and disunion would doubtless have taken place had not the new Legislature been conciliatory in its legislation. Floyd in his first message to the Legislature appealed for the enactment of such legislation, saying "the contest is



passed, let the triumph of victory and the bitterness of defeat be forgotten in united effort to benefit our common country and add new lustre to this the oldest of republics."

Floyd with the zeal of the strict constructionist and the clear eye of the expansionist, saw that the State could best be made a unit through the medium of internal improvements. Vast resources in the western part of the State in the form of mineral and agricultural products sought outlets to market and found none. As a result that county was in a poor condition and could not pay its part to the support of the government. By the development of the west through the medium of internal improvements both the east would be benefited in a commercial way and the west would profit by the acquisition of a market for its products. In this way the interests of the State could be made one. Floyd's constitutional scruples gave the more vigor to his efforts for State improvements. During his career in Congress, while Mercer and other members of the Virginia delegation had supported measures providing for internal improvements by the federal government, Floyd had uniformly protested against such measures, considering them to be both unconstitutional and contrary to the principles of the Virginia Resolutions of '98. He considered Jackson's veto of the Maysville Turnpike Bill a just cause for the expectation that no further aid for internal improvements would be received from the general government and he congratulated the President upon this exercise of his constitutional veto "towards the arresting of this most unfortunate system. We may certainly hope that impelled by a devoted regard for the interests of the United States he will persevere in this course until every vestige of this usurpation will be obliterated from the legislation of Congress."

Supporting internal improvements as a solution of the sectional differences of the State he said "by the bountiful dispensation of Providence that beautiful and extensive region lying below the falls of our rivers has afforded to it all those facilities which open every market to the enterprise and industry of its inhabitants. This fortunate condition is denied the





inhabitants above the Tidewater and presses with unspeakable weight upon our citizens residing beyond the mountains. While this state of things is suffered to continue the resources of the State admit of but partial development—lands of inexhaustible fertility remain unclaimed and the country is deprived of much of its efficiency. What is the inducement to reclaim the forests and cultivate the earth if the means of obtaining remuneration for one's labor is denied?" He also met the arguments of the eastern members against the improvements. "That argument which in opposition to a judicious system of improvements is made to rest upon the inequality of distribution, either real or supposed seems to me to fail utterly in its object. It opposes the only means which can ever bring about that equality of distribution which it seeks so earnestly to establish. Let markets be opened for the agricultural products of the country and instantly the subjects of taxation become common with it and all other countries similarly circumstanced. But when, in connection with this the improvement of the State is regarded as the sure means of producing that unity of feeling and harmonious action between all parts of the country, its importance cannot be questioned or its benefits a matter of speculation."<sup>18</sup>

Floyd then considered in his message the vast schemes for internal improvement which had been suggested by various engineers. Among the most important of these was a plan for the improvement of the James river. "This fine river is the national channel and is the shortest and might be the cheapest, easiest and most certain route through which the inexhaustible abundance produced from the rich soil of the western States could find their way to the Atlantic." In addition to the scheme for the union of the James and Kanawha rivers by roads and canals other plans received Floyd's endorsement. The Dismal Swamp canal was in need of extensive improvements. The efforts of the citizens of Petersburg to secure a railroad connecting that city with the Roanoke river valley,

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<sup>18</sup>*Journal of House*, December 6, 1830.



together with other improvements, was recommended to the Legislature for approval and assistance.

All of these vast schemes for internal improvement met with the hearty approval of the western members of the Legislature. The Eastern members opposed the improvements but despite their opposition an impetus was given to the agitation for internal improvements which it had not received before and some legislation of effective nature was passed by the Assembly of 1830-31. Numerous companies were organized with a view to the improvement of the different parts of the State by canal and several railroad companies were incorporated, prominent among these were the Staunton and Potomac and the Lynchburg and New River companies. A bill was proposed which provided for an appropriation of two million dollars as an aid to these improvements, but this failed to pass because of the opposition of the eastern members and the great schemes which Floyd had proposed and agitated were left to the development, for the most part, of private capital and such appropriations as succeeding legislatures might see fit to give.

In his first message Floyd considered the effect of the tariff and the effect of the American system as a whole upon the State. To the whole system and to the tariff especially Floyd had been in continual opposition throughout his congressional career. In the session of 1828 a reduction had been made on certain articles of prime necessity. This Floyd hailed as a "subject of mutual congratulation to all of the States of the Union. Our sufferings under the misnamed American system have been great and have been borne with signal patience. Slight, however, as is the alleviation of our burdens the friends of the country would fain recognize in it an indication on the part of the federal government to listen again to the voice of justice; to revert to sound maxims of national policy and vindicate the long violated principles of the Constitution," Virginia had borne the oppression of the tariff with signal patience, but "pure and real as is her patriotic attraction to the Union, still long, disagreeable complaints—aggravated burdens, had, it is manifest, much increased her dissatisfaction,



while elsewhere opposition assumed a more determined hostility. To see Congress under such circumstances introduce a modification, though slight, in the system of duties, authorizes the hope to be indulged that weighing with a wise patriotism the advantages of tariff, against the evils of widespread discontent and possible disunion, that body will retrace its steps and relieve us from the burdens imposed, thus again bringing back to our country that harmony and good feeling which has too long declined and which at last is the greatest of political blessings, so it should be the chief aim of the government to promote and perpetuate."<sup>19</sup>

Such hopes for relief from Clay's oppressive system had been Floyd's chief motive in supporting Jackson in the presidential campaign of 1828. But these hopes for relief through the Jackson administration proved "to be like the apples of the Dead Sea, fair to the eye, but all bitterness and ashes within."<sup>20</sup> The failure of the Jackson party to measure up to their expectations soon led to a break between Floyd and Jackson and a general division of the Jackson party. Floyd had supported Jackson in the election of 1828, although he knew Jackson "to be a coarse, vulgar man in his feelings," but he thought that because of his popularity with the people he was the only man who could restore the fallen fortunes of the Union. He hoped that Jackson "would see his course and distinguish men of talent and worth who would assist in governing the country so happily that small matters would be overlooked in the blaze of light which so much talent and learning as was to be found among his friends would cast around it."<sup>21</sup> He thought that men like Langdon Cheves, Littleton W. Tazewell, Thomas Benton, James Hamilton, of South Carolina, and Hayne, a senator from that State, would be consulted and given due weight. But the very first disappointment following the election of Jackson came in the announcement of his cabinet. Not one of the men suggested by Floyd for cabinet positions was accepted. Jackson had prac-

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<sup>19</sup>*Journal of House*, December 6, 1830.

<sup>20</sup>*Diary of John Floyd*.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid*.





tically promised Floyd a position in his cabinet, but upon his election he not only failed to give him the appointment but refused office to all of his friends. The Jackson cabinet was composed of men of mediocre ability with the single exception of Martin Van Buren. As his real advisers Jackson selected men of even harsher types, such as William B. Lewis, Amos Kendall and Isaac Hill. Floyd was disappointed in the Jackson administration from its beginning and the rest of his political career was spent in constant opposition to Jackson and his "minions."

It was evident that the Virginia principles of strict construction established and maintained by Jefferson and stated in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 could expect very little reform from an administration in which the power was held by such men. At first Jackson "amused" the State Rights party with the hopes that he would bring back the federal administration to the true Jefferson standard by his veto of the Maysville Turnpike bill. Yet as early as August, 1829, Floyd saw that no real concessions to the State Rights party could be obtained from the administration and that a division of the party that had elevated Jackson to the presidency must follow. Very soon Jackson began to justify his expectations, and although having vetoed the Maysville Turnpike bill at the very next session of Congress he approved such anti-state rights measures as the so-called "Ohio Snag bill," the Cumberland Road bill, the Military Road bill, besides other appropriations considered unconstitutional. At the same time he declared in favor of the tariff. He appointed ministers and other officers without the advice of the Senate and also recommended that the surplus revenue in the United States treasury be divided among the several States according to representation, a measure which Floyd characterized as "so dangerous and so ruinous to our interests and so utterly at war with justice and good faith that it must not be tolerated or borne for one moment by any except those who have adopted a cold determination to prefer a consolidated empire rather than the united republics. For my own part, if liberty is lost and I am



doomed to live under the pressure of power, I cannot perceive the difference between the princely purple and the blackguard black.<sup>22</sup>

Such was Floyd's open denunciation of Jackson and his policies in June, 1831. From this time forward Floyd's energies were centered in an effort to overthrow Jackson's usurpations. Nor did Floyd stand out as a lone malecontent. Other distinguished Virginians who had carried the Jackson banner to victory in 1828, Tazewell, Gilmer, Barbour and others united with Floyd and the State Rights party of South Carolina in their protests against the measures which Jackson now proposed. Jackson was very angry at the defeat of his project thus accomplished in Virginia, and at the fact that Floyd and Tazewell, who had done so much to make his election possible, should now openly desert him. He still had a large following in Virginia. Ritchie, Daniel and McDowell still adhered to his party. Jackson, incensed with Floyd because of his desertion, now used his influence with those friends in Virginia to prevent Floyd's re-election as Governor. But they found this impossible. Floyd had made himself popular with both the east and the west by his conciliatory attitude. On the 10th of February, 1831, he was unanimously re-elected Governor for a term of three years.

The many Virginians who had left the Jackson party together with Floyd, now aligned themselves with the other great political leaders of the time, some entering the Clay party, others becoming followers of Calhoun. Floyd and Gilmer joined the Calhoun party. They adopted as their principle and proposed to start a paper in behalf "of the doctrine of Virginia as declared in the Virginia Resolutions of '98, internal improvement by the State and finally Mr. Calhoun's election to the presidency." In March, 1831, Calhoun visited Floyd in Richmond, and no doubt their friendship was cemented and their plans laid for the campaign at this meeting. Shortly after this Duff Green, who had also deserted the Jackson party because of its hostility to Calhoun, wrote to Floyd

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<sup>22</sup>Floyd to Barbour, June 24, 1831.





to the effect that "Mr. Calhoun should be put up for the Vice Presidency again." Floyd, in reply, revealed the real end towards which he was working, "No, he must be President, and that too, at the next election in lieu of Jackson. If he is not Jackson and his profligate cabinet will ruin the Confederacy and dissolve the Union six years from this day." In a letter to Calhoun April 16, 1831, he assured him that he was making every effort to conciliate the friends of Clay and win them over to the Calhoun party, thus forwarding his interests in Virginia. Floyd was beginning to realize that neither Clay nor Calhoun could defeat Jackson while they worked independently. To overthrow the "tyrant" their forces must be united. In this early movement to unite the friends of Clay and Calhoun against the Jackson party he was working on the principle which later resulted in the formation of the Whig party.

Two events coming at this period served to make Floyd's hostility to the administration more bitter. One of these events grew out of personal differences with P. V. Daniel, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, and a warm friend of General Jackson. Daniel made an imbecile attack on Floyd during the summer of 1832, hoping thereby to gain favor with the administration and weaken the State Rights party in Virginia. In this he failed and was severely condemned. Floyd's popularity in the State increased despite this attack made by Daniel, but doubtless seconded by the whole of the "junto" at Richmond. The second cause for renewed disapproval was the resignation of Jackson's cabinet in the summer of 1831. The failure of Calhoun and the cabinet members to associate with Mrs. Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War, brought about a wholesale resignation of the cabinet, a thing unheard of before in American politics. By this resignation three of the cabinet members, who were friends of Calhoun were replaced by men who were willing to do the personal bidding of Jackson. Floyd was incensed at this movement and said of it, "this general resignation must be a concerted political movement, intended by Jackson to effectuate some great political



object. I think to make Van Buren Vice-President and inflict punishment on Calhoun by the overthrow of his friends." Especially was he bitter towards Van Buren, "whose most ingenious act in the office of Secretary of State was his flight from it." He set to work to thwart the plans of Van Buren and Jackson in Virginia at least. In this he worked against overwhelming odds. The western section of the State was won over to the Jackson party by the hope of securing internal improvements from the federal government. Then, too, that consolidation which made the State Rights party effective in the State elections did not exist in the national elections because of the division of the anti-Jackson party, some following Clay, others Calhoun.

While Floyd was thus interested in national politics an event occurred, which caused him, as Governor, to turn his attention to what was fast becoming the great problem of the South—negro slavery. On August 21, 1831, the second and most fatal of Virginia's slave uprisings began in Southampton county under the leadership of "Nat" Turner. Turner was a religious fanatic, well educated and well read in incendiary tracts. Because of his training he had won the reverence and respect of his fellow slaves. They regarded him as a prophet and when he appealed to them to join in an uprising against their masters he found six willing to start the movement. Taking a peculiar eclipse of the sun as a divine symbol for the uprising on Sunday night, August 21, 1831, Turner began the raid with only six followers. He first murdered his master, Mr. Joseph Travis, together with his whole family. Thence he went from house to house murdering the occupants, taking arms and ammunition and enlisting all of the slaves of the plantations who were willing to join the movement. Proceeding in this way they committed about sixty-one murders, men women and children alike suffering at their hands. Then greatly strengthened Turner marched to attack Jerusalem, the county seat of Southampton county. Near this place they were attacked by a small band of white men poorly armed with shotguns. They then



reassembled and proceeded to the house of Dr. Blount, who was a prominent physician and slave holder of that community. When they approached his house they were attacked by a small party which had assembled there. Several of the negroes were wounded and the rest fled in consternation. This fight occurred on Monday, August 22, 1831, and with it the offensive warfare on the part of the slaves was ended.

At daylight on the 23d of August, Floyd received his first information in regard to the outbreak. As the insurrection was believed to be general he immediately called into service a force sufficient to crush at a single blow all opposing power. He prepared detachments from the Seventh and Fifth regiments of Virginia infantry, from the Fourth regular cavalry and from the Fourth light artillery. These troops were rushed to the scene of action along with several thousand stands of arms for arming the local militia companies. In the meantime troops were sent from the United States cruiser *Natchez*, at anchor in Hampton Roads, also a detachment from Fortress Monroe. The local militia of all surrounding counties applied to Governor Floyd for arms and repaired to the scene of action. Floyd had adopted measures so prompt and effective that by the 25th of August a force sufficient to quell any servile revolt that might arise had been collected.

It soon became evident that such forces would not be needed. All offensive warfare on the part of the slaves had ceased and it only remained to hunt down the criminals. As this required only a few men, on the 24th of August General Eppes in command of the forces assembled, informed Governor Floyd that he would at once disband the artillery and infantry. By the 30th of August most of the negroes had been captured, only a few of the leaders still being at large. Nat was captured six weeks after the crime. Then followed the arraignment and execution of the criminals. Over forty slaves were tried, twenty-one were convicted and of this number thirteen were executed.

The results of the Southampton insurrection did not end with the hunting down and execution of the criminals. It lead





to a careful study of its causes and the means to prevent its repetition and still more important it led, through the debates which it precipitated, to the assumption of a new attitude by Virginia upon the question of negro slavery. Following the insurrection Floyd, as Governor, made a close study of slave conditions within the State. The result of his investigation as to the causes of the insurrection were made known in a letter to Governor James Hamilton, of South Carolina, November 19, 1831. From this we quote:

"I am fully persuaded that the spirit of insubordination which has been and still is manifested in Virginia, had its origin in and emanated from Yankee peddlers and trader:

"The course has been by no means a direct one and they began by making them religious—their conversations were of that nature—telling the blacks that God was no respecter of persons, the black man was as good as the white, that all men were born free and equal—that they cannot serve two masters, that the white people rebelled against England to obtain their freedom; so have the blacks a right to do.

"In the meantime, I am sure without any purpose of the kind, preachers, principally northern, were very arduous in operating upon our population. Day and night they were at work and religion became the fashion of the time. Finally our females, and of the most respectful classes were persuaded that it was piety to teach the negroes to read and write to the end that they might read the Scriptures. Many of them became tutors in Sunday schools and pious distributors of tracts from the New York Tract Society.

"At this point some active operations commenced—our magistrates became more inactive—large assemblages of negroes were allowed to take place for religious purposes. Then commenced the efforts of the black preachers, and often from the pulpits these pamphlets were read, followed by the incendiary publications of Walker, Garrison, and Knapp, of Boston. There, too, songs and hymns of singular character were circulated, read and commented upon, we resting in apathetic security until after the Southampton affair.



“From all that has come to my knowledge during and since the affair, I am fully convinced that every black preacher in the whole country east of the Blue Ridge mountains was in the secret, that the pleas published by these northern fanatics were read and acted upon by them—that their congregations as they were called, know nothing of this rebellion, except a few leading and intelligent men, who may have been head men in the church—the mass were prepared by making them aspire to an equal station by such conversation as I have related as the first step.

“I am informed that they have settled their form of government to be the same as the white people whom they intended to cut off to a man, with this difference that their preachers were to be their governors, generals and judges. I feel fully satisfied to myself in believing the northern incendiary tracts, Sunday schools, religious reading and writing has accomplished this end.”

The northern agitators combined to push their publications into the South, and occasionally one of these fell into Floyd's hands. On September 21, 1831, this entry appears in his diary: “I have received this day another number of the *Liberator*, a newspaper printed in Boston, with the express intention of inciting the slaves and free negroes of this and other States to rebellion and to murder the men, women and children of these States. Yet we are gravely told there is no law to punish this offence. The amount of it is then, a man in one State may plot treason against another without fear of punishment, whilst the suffering State has no right to resist by the federal Constitution. If this is not checked it must lead to the separation of these States. If the forms of law will not punish, the laws of nature will not permit men to have their families butchered before their very eyes by their own slaves and not seek by force to punish those who had planned and encouraged them to perpetuate these deeds.”<sup>23</sup>

When the Legislature of 1831 met in December of that year slavery was the all absorbing topic of discussion. The East

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<sup>23</sup>*Diary of John Floyd.*





was in constant fear of further rebellion and the West desired to rid the State of the evils of slavery. Floyd's opinions on the subject had crystallized and as early as November, 1831, he said he would, in his next message to the Legislature, "recommend that laws be passed to confine the slaves to the estates of their masters—prohibit free negroes from preaching—absolutely to drive from this State all free people of color and to suggest that the surplus revenue in our treasury be appropriated annually for slaves to work for a time on railroads, etc., and then send them out of the country preparatory to or rather as the first step towards emancipation." But Floyd realized that these points must be handled delicately. In his message he attributed the insurrection to the efforts of northern agitators, the work of free negroes and especially of negro preachers. He recommended that laws be enacted to silence these negro preachers; that all laws having as their aim the subordination of the slaves be revised, and that measures be taken for the removal of free negroes from the Commonwealth; this being done as a preparatory step to the gradual abolition of negro slavery from the State.

Such suggestions on the part of the Governor led to a debate in the House on the subject of gradual emancipation. A group of young orators from the western counties, McDowell, Sumner, Faulkner, Preston and Campbell advocated the measure while Goode and Brodnax led the opposing forces of the east. The debate grew so intense that members from the south side of the James river talked of making a proposition for a division of the State by the Blue Ridge Mountains sooner than part with the negroes which were the property of the eastern part of the State. Three-fourths of the session was spent in the discussion of the emancipation of the slaves. However, the forces of the east prevailed and instead of emancipating the slaves the Legislature passed more stringent laws against slaves, free negroes and mulattoes, forbidding their meetings, punishing their preachers and imposing numerous other restrictions upon them. These measures, though harsh, served to prevent a recurrence of the outrages of the South-



ampton affair and no further servile insurrection occurred in Virginia until that headed by John Brown broke out on the eve of the War between the States. A more important result of the debate was that it showed the futility of all hopes for the emancipation of the negro slaves of the State. From this time forward the question of emancipation ceased to be discussed in the legislative halls of the State. Virginia gradually tended to silence in regard to the institution; then later, when at the hands of the northern agitators the question is made simply a problem of sectional interest, she justified it.

In the Assembly of 1831-32 Governor Floyd also renewed his plea for internal improvements. Because of his untiring efforts much had been done to develop the distant sections of the State. However legislation along this line was impeded by ill feeling between the eastern and western sections. The movement for internal improvements was also impeded by the slavery debate, which made this sectional jealousy the more bitter and the conflicting opinions as to whether the improvements should assume the form of railroads or canals. Despite these forces much was accomplished at this session of the Legislature. At Floyd's suggestion the old James River Company was now replaced by the James River and Kanawha Company. Its capital was to be \$5,000,000, of this \$2,000,000 was to be paid by the State and the remainder was to be subscribed by private individuals and corporations. Their legislation was marked by a gradual increase in favor of the railroad over the old canal communication. Several new railroad companies were incorporated. Prominent among these companies were the Richmond and Turkey Island, Richmond and Roanoke, the Fredericksburg and Potomac, the Richmond and Yorktown.

Floyd's message to the Legislature of 1831-32 touched upon our federal relations at the time. He protested strongly against the trend of movements under the Jackson administration. Especially did he arraign the tariff, which tended to increase rather than decrease; the recent appropriations for internal improvements by the federal government, which he



considered foreign to and unwarranted by the Constitution: the appointment of agents to negotiate treaties without the consent of the Senate, and the proposed distribution of the surplus revenue in the United States treasury. Floyd seized upon these as types of the measures which the Jackson administration favored, and he characterized them as not only unconstitutional but unjust, oppressive and ruinous, leading to more determined protests which were later to take the form of nullification which Jefferson had pronounced the "rightful remedy."

In the meantime the campaign for President grew more bitter. An effort was made in the spring of 1832 to join the State Rights party to the cause of William Wirt, the anti-Masonic nominee for the presidency. When approached on this subject Floyd refused to give his support to a party which he conceived to be made up of fanatics and malcontents. "I know that Jackson has disappointed all hopes of his friends and party, and has proved himself incapable and latitudinous in his policies, and has put the government in the hands of mean people, but this is not so bad and so dangerous to liberty as to place the government in the hands of fanatics and religious bigots. The Calhoun party believes that the Clay party should go along with us and thereby take this State from Jackson."<sup>24</sup> This was the principle upon which Floyd conducted the campaign for Calhoun. Every effort was made to secure a union of the Clay and Calhoun parties. As the campaign progressed it became evident that the tariff would be the leading issue. By December, 1831, nullification began to be talked openly. When John C. Calhoun passed through Richmond on his way to Congress he informed Floyd that South Carolina would nullify the tariff unless it was greatly modified. It soon became evident that it would not be modified. Clay and his party were determined to sustain the tariff. Floyd's opposition to the system made him very popular in his own State and in South Carolina, where his message to the legislature of 1831-2, protesting against the tariff, was received

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<sup>24</sup>*Diary of John Floyd.*





with rejoicing. As the debate proceeded in Congress the hope of relief grew less. Speaking of the situation on the 27th of January, Floyd said: "Our federal government is at this time engaged on the tariff, and instead of relieving the South, they are about to repeal the duties on luxuries and retain them on woollens, cotton and iron. If so, South Carolina will nullify the tariff, and thus bring into action the reserve rights of the States. All this is owing to the utter inefficiency of President Jackson, who has no influence with Congress and who will probably be re-elected to the presidency, and the two great contending parties, Tariff and Arbitration, are fearful of trying their strength directly, and Jackson floats like a stick upon the flood, though the Tariff party think they are gaining by his inefficiency, which is unquestionably true, and if they succeed with their expectations and desires, the South will be compelled to secede."<sup>25</sup>

In a large measure the reduction of the tariff or nullification depended upon the results of the presidential election of 1832. As the campaign advanced the anti-Jackson men, realizing that they would be unable to defeat Jackson, centered their hopes in an effort to defeat Van Buren in his candidacy for the vice-presidency. To this end Floyd made every effort to promote the candidacy of P. P. Barbour for this position. But Barbour soon became a mere tool in the hands of Van Buren, the "wizard in politics," assisted by the junto at Richmond. This hope, too, was doomed to disappointment. On the 26th of October, 1832, a letter from P. P. Barbour was published in the Richmond *Whig* in which he practically refused to have his name considered as a candidate for the vice-presidency. This letter published so soon before the election put the State Rights party in such a position that no effective measures could be taken to defeat either the election of Jackson or Van Buren. Floyd's comment on Barbour's action was to the effect that "he has succumbed to power regardless of his principles. Some say that Jackson has promised him the office

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<sup>25</sup>Dairy of John Floyd.



of Chief Justice of the United States in case Marshall should die or resign."

Every effort on the part of the State Rights party had been ruined by Barbour's desertion and the State went overwhelmingly for Jackson. This result presents a curious inconsistency. The leading men of the State, Floyd, Tazewell and Gilmer, had made every effort to prevent the vote of Virginia from being given to Jackson and Van Buren. The explanation of their defeat is to be found only in their failure to concentrate their forces upon the candidacy of one man and the fact that Jackson was the idol of the masses of the people who were readily reconciled to his extreme measures by the soothing explanations of the junto at Richmond. Floyd's effort in behalf of state rights, though unsuccessful in his own State, was recognized by the State Rights party of South Carolina, and seven of their electoral votes for President were given to John Floyd as the man whose doctrines they considered most in accord with the theory of state sovereignty.

The hopes for the alleviation of the evils of the tariff entertained on the part of the South had long ceased. On June 29, 1832, the tariff bill of 1832 was passed, a measure even more burdensome than that of 1828. The re-election of Jackson had assured the State Rights party that no further concessions could be expected, and they now adopted more radical measures. They turned to the doctrine of nullification. This was especially popular in South Carolina, and when Jackson's re-election was made certain a convention was called in that State to settle upon the constitutionality of the tariff and to consider methods of arresting its operation in that State. Jackson ordered troops to South Carolina to threaten attack should the convention nullify the tariff. Rumor to this effect reached Floyd and caused him to say, "This attack, if made, will destroy this confederacy." Soon after this, on November 25, 1832, Floyd was informed that the South Carolina convention had declared its intention to nullify the tariff laws of Congress and in the event that force was





used it would declare South Carolina out of the Union. The moment which Floyd had looked for as inevitable had come, and he declared his intentions as Governor of Virginia "to sustain South Carolina with all my power," and warned others to beware."<sup>26</sup>

When the Legislature of 1832-33 met Floyd renewed his plea for internal improvements. He also spoke of our federal relations, but only in a general way. His object was to learn the opinions of the members of the Legislature before he brought them face to face with approval or disapproval of the action of South Carolina. His arraignment of the tariff was only in general terms, saying that the recent tariff only mocked their suffering by assuming the shape of modification. The Constitution was intended to prevent the majority from doing that which, to the minority, would be ruinous, but if the majority be permitted to become interpreters of their own power there ceased to be any limit whatever to the powers of the government.

A few days after his first message Floyd received a proclamation by Jackson denouncing the action of South Carolina, and practically equivalent to a declaration of war against that State. To the mind of a strict constructionist, such as Floyd, this proclamation "concentrated all power in the President and denounces all meetings in all States as treason if to call into question the constitutionality of any act passed by Congress. It denies the States to be sovereign, and this to be a confederacy, and acknowledges no authority but that vested in the President." Jackson ordered the army to South Carolina in preparation for war. Floyd took this as a signal for immediate action, and, on December 13, 1832, he sent his second message to the Legislature of 1832. In this message he laid before the General Assembly the ordinance adopted by the people of South Carolina, in which the tariff laws were declared unconstitutional, null and void, and forbidding any attempt on the part of the federal government to carry them into execution in that State after February 1, 1833. In his

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<sup>26</sup>*Diary of John Floyd.*



comment on the paper, Floyd, justified South Carolina in her action, claiming that she, as a sovereign State, had a right to judge of the infringement of the compact or Constitution, and the mode and measure of redress. He protested against the use of force, realizing that, should force be resorted to by the federal government, the horror of the scenes thereafter to be witnessed could not be pictured by the most affrighted imagination. He referred to the Legislature as having in their hands means of averting civil war and saving "our firesides from being bathed in blood." To settle the difficulty, he recommended that "an amicable reference should be made to the great tribunal which formed and adopted the Constitution—namely, the people themselves." Thus he suggested the call of a convention of all the States; though offering this to the Legislature as the best remedy for the situation, he did not expect it to be efficient. In the crisis, he remained firm and unchanged. He had spent his life as an advocate of the principles of strict construction, and now he expressed a willingness to die for those principles. "I expect Civil War and expect to perish in it, but none shall say hereafter in the history of this coming conflict, that I, as Governor of Virginia, wanted either prudence, courage or patriotism." Floyd was not alone in his expectancy of civil war. James Pleasants, in speaking of that same period, said: "Many deemed the dark hour of civil conflict not remote, and it turned their eyes to him (Floyd) as the man worthy of leading the rebels against federal tyranny and usurpation in the field."

Floyd's message was referred to a committee of twenty-one, composed for the most part of conservatives and members of the Union party. After considerable deliberation, covering a period of three weeks, January 26, 1833, the committee reported. Their resolutions expressed a desire for union but disapproved the tariff; praised South Carolina for her resistance, but disapproved her manner of obtaining redress. The committee also considered the proclamation of Andrew Jackson in regard to South Carolina, characterizing it as a departure from the Resolutions of '98. The report deplored the



use of arms by either the federal government or South Carolina, and recommended as the remedy for the situation the call of a general convention in case Congress did not take action to reduce the tariff. B. W. Leigh was appointed as an agent to South Carolina to offer friendly mediation. In the meantime South Carolina had passed a resolution favoring a general convention. On February 25, 1833, Governor Floyd communicated a copy of this resolution to the State Legislature. Floyd had proposed this as a remedy for the situation in his first message on the subject of nullification and in this message he reiterated his arguments in favor of such a convention as the only method for the prevention of civil war, which must necessarily follow the first use of arms by either party to the quarrel.

Such a use of force, however, proved to be unnecessary. Van Buren and Jackson began to fear that Calhoun and Clay prospered by their troubles, and when Clay made efforts to modify the tariff they gave the measure the support of their influence. On February 26, 1833, Clay had secured the passage of a bill which modified the tariff so as to bring it down to the common standard, abandoning the principle of protection. Floyd greeted this with joy and regarded it as a complete victory for the State Rights party. "This bill will restore harmony to the country and prove that nullification is the rightful remedy for federal usurpation. South Carolina has triumphed and has saved the Confederacy and the liberties of the country from the tyrant's grasp and has saved us from civil war."<sup>27</sup> The difficulty of nullification was now passed. When the tariff was modified South Carolina rescinded the original ordinance of nullification, but nullified the law called the "enforcing bill," which gave the President power to enforce the tariff laws in that State. Such force was unnecessary, and the whole controversy was settled. Jackson had lost and the State Rights party had won.

Other causes leading to a division of the Confederacy now presented themselves. After the controversy over nullifica

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<sup>27</sup>*Diary of John Floyd.*





tion had passed negro slavery became the chief topic of discussion. Such it was to remain until the great war between the States. The debates in the Virginia Assembly of 1831-32 had demonstrated the fact that emancipation was impossible in Virginia. From that time forward her statesmen justified the institution, which was continually attacked by northern agitators. Floyd recognized in this discussion new causes for sectional difference and writing on the subject in April, 1833, he thus expresses himself: "For some time past the northern papers have been full of disquisitions on slavery, emancipation, rights of man and universal amalgamation of color. Such is the corrupt state of public morals produced by the ignorance, vice and bad passions of Jackson and his minions around him that I do believe the United States will be shaken to pieces in a few years and deluged in blood, purely because the Southern States tolerate slavery and the North wishes to destroy the property that they may govern by a majority in Congress and make the South subservient to their views. It cannot be affection for our slaves, who, at this moment, are in a very much better condition than the laboring poor of the North. They lack none of the comforts of life. They have, in truth, everything but political rights and property."<sup>23</sup> This opinion gives a clear presentation of the Southern view of slavery from this time to the Civil War.

Floyd's hatred toward Jackson and his party remained unmitigated after the controversy over nullification. In his message to the Legislature of 1833-4 he once more renewed his plea for internal improvements, for which cause he doubtless accomplished more than any Governor of the State. But the burden of his last message was a justification of the doctrines of state sovereignty, nullification and secession. He renewed his attack on Jackson's administration once more, this time condemning in severe terms such measures as the force bill, the subversion of the treaty making power, and the proposed removal of deposits to the state banks.

In the later part of Floyd's administration as Governor

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<sup>23</sup>Diary of John Floyd.



Virginia's political alignment presented a marked change in appearance. Following the division of the Jackson party in 1831 chaos had reigned in Virginia politics for a time. Ritchie and Daniel had remained faithful to Jackson. The anti-Jackson party was divided into two divisions, the one following Clay, the other Calhoun. The Ritchie-Jackson party continued unflinchingly in support of the administration, and since it dominated the western element it had possessed a sufficient majority to hold Virginia to a conservative course when nullification was the topic of the day. The election of 1832 and the experience with nullification taught the two wings of the anti-Jackson party that it must unite the Clay and Calhoun elements if it would be successful. Only by such a union could they overthrow Jackson. Floyd had been constantly at work to effect such a union ever since the division of the Jackson party in 1831. Now these efforts met with their first success along the line of state issues. By such a union the State Rights party were enabled in 1833 to re-elect Tyler to the Senate for a term of six years over McDowell, the opposing candidate who was the friend of Jackson and Ritchie. The second success came in April, 1833, when the State Rights party elected Tazewell to succeed Floyd as Governor. At last it had tried and proven that success over Jackson and his friends could be obtained by the union of the two parties which opposed him.

The union of the two branches of the anti-Jackson party on state issues was soon followed by an extension of their principles to national politics. The election of 1832 had clearly shown that as long as the Clay and Calhoun parties worked independently they could not succeed against Jackson. Floyd made every effort to conciliate the friends of Clay. He had always been a personal friend of Clay and had left his party because he feared its latitudinous tendencies. He hailed Clay's effort to modify the tariff and soothe the difficulties with South Carolina as a return on his part to State Rights principles, and he renewed his efforts towards the union of the Clay and Calhoun forces. In a letter to William C. Preston,





dated 1833, he spoke of his efforts "to detach him (Clay) from the northern harpies, and if possible to prevail upon him to use his influence with the West to revive the old party landmarks." Clay now recognized these efforts, and in a letter to Floyd, April 13, 1833, expressed a desire to "renew their old friendly relations." This was what Floyd desired, and from now on the merging of the two elements of the anti-Jackson party was a matter of ease, the result being the formation of the Whig party. This, when first organized, was unable to defeat Van Buren for the presidency in 1836, but in 1840 it was successful. At that election the party in whose organization Floyd had been so potent a factor, achieved its first triumph in national politics, electing a Virginian, Tyler, as Vice-President.

Floyd, however, was not destined to see the successful termination of the movement which he had started. In February, 1834, he was succeeded by Littleton W. Tazewell as Governor. His health had been very bad throughout the whole of his term as Governor. On June 3, 1832, he had encountered a slight stroke of paralysis and from that time on his health was broken. This necessitated his retirement from political life. After the completion of his term as Governor he retired to his large estate near Sweet Springs, in Montgomery county. Here he lived in quiet retirement, surrounded by his family, consisting of his wife, his faithful adviser and counsellor throughout his long political career, together with his five children living at the time. Many of these children later played a prominent part in political and social life of the Old Dominion. His daughter, Nickettie, later became the wife of Senator John W. Johnston, Virginia's chief representative in the national Senate during the period of Reconstruction. Governor Floyd's son, John B. Floyd, later became Secretary of War under Buchanan, Governor of Virginia, 1849-52, and a prominent participant in the early scenes of the Civil War as a major-general in the Confederate Army. In his retirement Floyd regained his health to some extent, and gave



promise to live many years. However, the excitement produced by the unexpected arrival of a son from Texas and a daughter from South Carolina, is thought to have caused a second stroke of paralysis. The stroke came on August 16, 1837, and resulted in his death the following day.

Many tributes were paid to his memory. It has been said of him that "He ran his course without change, and was the same at the beginning of his career as at its end."<sup>29</sup> Friends and foes alike have conceded to him the verity of his own statement of his life's work, "I have been as firm and dauntless a supporter of the rights of the people and the supremacy of the Constitution as any man now living."

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<sup>29</sup>*Richmond Whig*, August 24, 1937.



## BISHOP JOHN EARLY.

By J. RIVES CHILDS, A. B.

No work can be more noble or more unselfish than that of the ministry. No work is more difficult; no profession requires a similar self-sacrifice; nor is there any field of activity which demands the requirements, so many and manifold, as that of the gospel of Christ.

The profession of the ministry has ranked among the first from time immemorial. From the period of the early centuries when monks in their monasteries compiled historic documents and chronicles of untold value, from the time when by their instruction and teaching they influenced the bent and the trend of popular thought, these simple teachers of the gospel have been the most learned men of their times. In many instances they have become the advisers and leaders of their overlords and rulers, and by their foresight and practical wisdom have exerted a tremendous influence upon their time and race.

In the past it was an established custom for those sons of the wealthy landowner or nobleman who could claim no share in their father's estate by the law of primogeniture, to make their choice of professions either the army or the ministry. Of all others, only these were considered befitting their rank or station. Such a custom indeed prevailed even prior to the nineteenth century, a century which was slow in recovering from the wave of religious sentiment which had engulfed all Europe and America. Into such an atmosphere as this, of the most intense religious feeling, an age of religion, regarded by many as equalled by none save the apostolic, John Early, the clergyman, was born.

True greatness has never depended upon good pedigree, yet the old adage "that blood will tell" holds good in more than some chance instance, for it is not to be denied that the example





set before us by those in whose footsteps we are following often serve as an inspiration to the brightest ideals of manhood. Possessed of such a line of exemplary forefathers of true, solid worth, it was not unnatural that, John Early, a product himself of one of the most influential families in Bedford county, Va., should have become a typical illustration of such a man. The line of Irish ancestry from which he was descended, can be traced to the fourth century, A. D. There in the Valley of Owenee, in the Parish of Inneskell, a portion of the family of O'Maolmocheirghe, or Early, had dwelt for many years until the spirit of colonization and adventure had tempted two brothers to set forth to seek a new home in the far famed land of America. The name, O'Maolmocheirighe is compounded of two Gaelic words, translated "Moch," early; "Eirigh," to rise. Previous to their emigration from Ireland, the brothers had adopted the simpler form, Early.

About the latter part of the seventeenth century or the early part of the eighteenth, the elder brother, Jeremiah, settled in Madison county, Va., and there married a Miss Bedford. Possessed of intelligence and force of character, he soon established through his thrift and enterprise, a prosperous home for himself and for his family. He became the father of eight sons, and in naming them was influenced by a very eccentric custom,<sup>1</sup> invariably selecting a praenomen beginning with the letter J. One of these sons, Jonathan, moved from Madison county to make his home in Bedford county, and it was here that John Early, his son, was born on January 1, 1786.

Concerning Early's childhood and early life very little is known. His parents were both devout Baptists, and it seems strange that he should have identified himself with a different faith. At the age of eighteen, through the influence of the powerful Stith Mead, he was united to the Methodist Church, and two years later he was licensed to preach. Under the direction of his presiding elder he began his ministerial duties

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<sup>1</sup>It might be mentioned by way of interest that this odd custom still prevails in the family.



among the slaves of President Jefferson and the poor at Poplar Forest, where his interest in the religious welfare of the colored race was most marked. In 1807 he was admitted on trial in the Virginia Conference; two years later he was ordained deacon and in 1811 elder. Possessing an iron constitution, a practical but ardent mind, a notably resolute will and habits, rigorously systematic and laborious, he became a favorite coadjutor and a confidential counsellor of Asbury. McKendree, Bruce, Jesse Lee and their associate leaders of the denomination.<sup>2</sup> In 1813, notwithstanding his remonstrances, Bishops Asbury and McKendree, perceiving his administrative ability, appointed him Presiding Elder of the Meherrin District, then extending from Richmond to Lynchburg. In this capacity, expressing to the fullest extent, not only his exceptional business talents, but his remarkable gifts as a disciple of the gospel as well, his efforts were everywhere crowned with memorable success. There were no bounds or limits to his zeal. On the Greenville Circuit in 1811 he received more than five hundred into the church. He was an evangelist of the highest order.<sup>3</sup> He presided over innumerable camp meetings, and at the memorable one at Prospect, Prince Edward county, to the transcendent glory of which Weems in his "Life of Washington," makes special reference, one thousand persons are said to have been converted in a single week.

His preaching was simple, yet direct and powerful. Not always embellished in the polished and refined graces of oratory, it was, however, simple and impressive without the adornments of rhetoric and captivating without the decorations of learning.<sup>4</sup> Like his own character, the truth mysteriously, unsensibly and oftentimes irresistibly subdued the largest and most polished assemblies, and thousands upon thousands of souls were the converts of his ministry. The statement has been made and is now generally conceded, that

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<sup>2</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 554.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 551.





Early traveled more, had more souls converted under his ministry, and received more persons into the church than any of his contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> Probably more ministers were converted under his preaching than can be claimed by any other man in America.<sup>6</sup>

The power and influence of Early's sermons and his ability merely as a preacher is best illustrated in the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Edward S. Brown to J. W. Blake:<sup>7</sup>

"Again I sit by your side in the chapel, when, after much persuasion, we had prevailed upon Big John (afterwards Bishop Early) to preach for us. I knew your anxiety to hear him, as you were impressed with the idea that he was a great preacher. Unfortunately, he took a doctrinal text, and soon got in the brush, floundered awhile, and you leaned over and whispered in my ear, 'He can't preach.' It was evident that Big John was sensible of his embarrassment, and finally despaired of being able to extricate himself, and turned all his resources on extricating himself.

"Suddenly he abandoned his text, and abandoned his subject, and never alluded to either of them afterwards. He commenced talking about Aunt Essex and old Sister Martin, two godly women who had lived and died in Lynchburg. He told of their piety and that they prayed in public and wielded a gracious influence, and built up the church, and advanced the cause of true religion. He described their death-bed scene, told the good advice they gave to those they left behind, their tender and melting farewells to their friends, how their countenances brightened at the prospect of eternal happiness, how a heavenly radiance shone around and illumined their rooms, how the angels flitted around and bore their ransomed spirits to regions of ineffable delight, when he commenced singing,

'Hail dearest, sweetest tie  
That binds our glowing hearts in one,'

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<sup>5</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 551.

Abel Stevens, *History of the M. E. Church*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

Hyde's, *Story of Methodism*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 553.

<sup>7</sup>Letter in Randolph-Macon College Library.



And walked down the pulpit with both arms extended, shaking hands with President Garland, Professor Duncan and everybody within his reach. It was a meeting time with the whole audience. I looked at you. The tears were running down your cheeks, and choking with emotion, you said: 'He is the greatest preacher I ever heard.' And I said, 'He is a general.'"<sup>8</sup>

Such preaching as this was irresistible. It could have had but one effect. The fruits of his labors must surely have found a glorious reward, and of this we have ample evidence. John Early was indeed a preacher of whom Methodism may well be proud. He became a very father of American Methodism.<sup>9</sup> The services of his ministry cannot be overestimated. His career, although one of the most laborious in the history of American Methodist itinerancy, from his earliest ministrations, proceeded with an increasing and enduring fame. Through his constant, untiring labors, the Methodist Church has extended its influence wherever the influence of John Early has been shed, and his influence will continue to abide with us long after the transient fame of others has been forgotten.

Early's attitude toward the missionary cause may be best expressed in his own words, "Cold is the heart that takes no interest in the missionary cause, especially if it be found among the prophets." He early organized five branches of the missionary society and devised four others on his district. From 1824 to 1826 he was conference missionary. Every interest of the church received at all times his devoted and persistent attention, and he labored with a never ceasing zeal for the cause which he loved.

Occupying one of the highest seats in the supreme councils of the church for sixty years, he faithfully discharged all solemn trusts committed to him with a frank, firm and undisguised integrity which he never compromised and a responsibility which he never evaded.<sup>10</sup> He always took a foremost

<sup>8</sup>Letter in Randolph-Macon College Library.

<sup>9</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 550.

<sup>10</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 550.



stand among the first in resisting promptly and wisely every innovation which encroached in any way upon constitutional Methodism. He was ever a sincere friend to civil liberty and uncompromisingly set himself against every attempt of the ministry or its constituency which tended in the remotest manner to encroach upon the civil jurisdiction of the country. The influence of his presence in the Church and State was such as could not be strengthened by the most powerful eloquence and massive logic. A word from him was the index of past Methodism and his judgment prophetic of her future.<sup>11</sup> Such indeed was the inspiration of this man, a very rock and pillar of the Methodist Church.

John Early possessed and bore all those characteristics which distinguished a true statesman. Endowed with wisdom, prudence, sagacity, experience and firmness, higher qualities of true greatness, he was capable of doing that which few men are ever enabled to do: to think clearly and logically over the events at hand, estimating their causes and determining their results, with an analysis which met no failures. The causes which came before him for adjustment, he directed and controlled with unsurpassing strength of mind and purpose.

He was far from being an abstractionist, in either theory or action. Analysis and synthesis seemed alike to be intuitive and simultaneous with him, always along with immediate action. His constitutional resolution was thwarted by none save the impossible. Such impetuosity of mind and soul in debate was awe-inspiring. His whole soul seemed flaming with the magnitude of his purpose. From the paths he chose in the execution of his genius and his faith he swerved not for circumstance, obstacle or opponent, however formidable. Never was there a leader less dependent on others for his resources, his triumphs or his fame.<sup>12</sup>

In 1821 Early was married to Elizabeth Rives, a young lady of great worth and piety, a member of the family which in-

<sup>11</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 550.

<sup>12</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 551.





cluded the distinguished statesmen, William Cabell and Alexander Rives. His wife died in 1857.

In 1815 Early was located and in 1821 he was readmitted. In 1827 he was one of three preachers on the Bedford Circuit, and the following year, 1828, he was left without appointment at his own request. In 1829 he resumed his duties as Presiding Elder, an office which he continued to fill most creditably until 1832, from 1841-1846 again appearing as the Presiding Elder on the Lynchburg and Petersburg Districts.

While John Early was not a college bred man, he very likely valued a college education highly, as is evidenced in his zeal, displayed for the establishment of a Methodist College. It was accordingly not unnatural that Early should have been concerned in the establishment of some such institution of learning by his Church. For John Early was not alone attentive and devoted to the interests of the Church from a ministerial point of view, but was a leader as well in all business which concerned her welfare. Never neglectful of his own particular work in the Church, he was always foremost in everything he esteemed promotive of her good.

It was not strange then that Mr. Leigh, the prime mover in the establishment of a college under the guardianship of the Virginia Conference, should first have enlisted the active support and interest of Early in the matter. From the very outset he threw himself into the enterprise with all his energy and strength, and gave to it the benefit of his large, practical sense because the Church, as well as the State, was in need of such an agency for the promotion of the people's welfare. Through his labors in behalf of the work, he became one of the principal founders of what is now known as Randolph-Macon College.

For some time the General Conference of the Methodist Church had debated and discussed the desirability of entering the field of denominational education. Finally, however, the General Conference of 1824 recommended "That each annual conference establish a seminary of learning, under its



own regulation and patronage."<sup>13</sup> Accordingly at the session of the Virginia Conference at Oxford, N. C., in 1825, the year following the recommendation by the General Conference, Early moved that the question be referred to a committee of twelve, six ministers and six laymen, to consider and report the best method of establishing such a seminary of learning, under the regulations and patronage of the Conference.<sup>14</sup> This motion was adopted, and Early was appointed as one of the committee of twelve to draw up this report. At the same time a committee on building was appointed "to obtain the best model for the college building and contract for and superintend the construction of the same." Of this committee John Early was made chairman.

At the conference of 1829 this committee made its report, and Boydton, Va., was selected as the location for the new college. The report of the committee was then confirmed by the conference, and the same committee was authorized to apply to the General Assembly for a charter. This, the committee proceeded to do, and on February 3, 1830, the bill to incorporate Randolph-Macon College was passed and became a law, thus formally establishing the first Methodist College in America. Early was at once appointed one of the first trustees of the new college, and in 1832 he was made the first president of the Board of Trustees, an office which he held for nearly forty years, until 1868, when he became obliged to retire on account of his advancing age.

In 1823, upon the request of the Georgia Conference that John Early be sent to obtain donations from them, he was made agent of the college.<sup>15</sup>

In 1812, only five years following his admission on trial into the Virginia Conference, he was sent as one of the eleven delegates to the first delegated General Conference which held its sessions in the city of New York.<sup>16</sup> From 1828 he con-

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<sup>13</sup>Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>Flood and Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops*, p. 546.





tinued to be a member of the General Conference until the year 1844, when the division of the two churches was brought about over the slavery controversy. In the General Conference of 1832 he received a large vote for the episcopate, and would very likely have been elected had it not been for his connection with slavery.<sup>17</sup>

In 1844 at the meeting of the General Conference, the question of slavery and abolition which had caused so much dissension for the past sixty years, was at length brought before the conference for some form of action. In the subsequent agitation, which finally resulted in the division of the denomination, Mr. Early took an active part.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after the convening of the conference, a resolution was offered that a committee of three from the North and three from the South be appointed to confer with the Bishops and report upon the possibility of adopting some plan for the pacification of the Church.<sup>19</sup> The resolution was adopted and Mr. Early, of Virginia, Dr. Capers, of South Carolina, and Dr. Winans, of Mississippi, were appointed to represent the South.

During the opening days of the conference, Mr. Early, in the course of an address, remarked "on the spirit pervading the conference and the spirit that he trusted would pervade the committee—the spirit of prayer, love and forbearance. He would assure the conference that the South were prepared to make any concessions in the same spirit, that they could without affecting their essential principles. His speech merely indicates, as do for the most part all the others, the calm and dispassionate manner maintained through it all, while effecting the separation. After two days of deliberation the committee, of which Mr. Early was a member, reported that they had been unable to agree upon any compromise.

The actual controversy itself was formally opened when proceedings against the slave holder, Bishop Andrew, were instituted. A resolution was made requesting that he resign

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<sup>17</sup>Abel Stevens, *History of the M. E. Church*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

<sup>18</sup>*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. II, p. 289.

<sup>19</sup>*History of the M. E. Church, South*, p. 12.



his office in the Church by reason of his connection with slavery. This resolution, after much debate, was deferred, and a compromise measure offered.<sup>20</sup> For this measure Early voted, but the measure was defeated by a small majority. Thereupon a resolution was passed dismissing Bishop Andrew from the Church. Early voted against this.

Immediately following this action of the majority, resolutions were drawn up by the southern delegates repudiating the action taken against Bishop Andrew, withdrawing from the General Conference and constituting themselves a further General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The first signature to be affixed to these resolutions was that of John Early.

The complete organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was perfected in its convention at Louisville, Ky., in which Early took one of the leading parts.<sup>21</sup> Indeed so prominently connected was he with the legislation of his Church in its new beginning that he was requested to furnish the Publishing Committee with a copy of his speeches made during the convention. The following year he was made president pro tempore of the first General Conference. It met at Petersburg, Va. He was also appointed chairman of its Finance Committee.

Among other things which the new conference decided upon was the establishment of a book agency. A man of superior tact, experience and sagacity was required, and John Early was unanimously chosen as the one most fitted. His office was soon opened in Richmond, and until 1854, when the Publishing House was established in Nashville, he carried on the work to the utmost satisfaction of all those concerned. He resigned his office with the agency in 1854 upon his election as Bishop at the General Conference held at Columbus, Ga. Undiminished in zeal and unaltered in resolution, he continued as ever, actively engaged in the duties of the Episcopacy until 1866, at which time he was voted by the General Conference in New Or-

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<sup>20</sup>*History of the M. E. Church, South*, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup>*History of the M. E. Church, South*, p. 169.



leans, a superannuated relation. And even though now in his eightieth year, he did not cease to work to the last demand of his office and the last limit of his mind and body.

In all his undertakings, Bishop Early was conspicuous for his most thorough earnestness and for an aggressive and determined maintenance of his own opinions.<sup>22</sup> This latter characteristic seems very likely indeed to have been the cause of complaints against him, reported by the Committee on Episcopacy at the General Conference of 1858. The charges, as stated, were that "in the conference and stationing room he had been too arbitrary and discourteous to some of the preachers."<sup>23</sup> To these charges the Bishop replied at length, completely defending his position. Following this explanation, numerous resolutions were offered, the following of which the conference finally passed: "That after a patient consideration of the complaints made against Bishop Early the conference deeply regrets that there are any grounds for such complaints; nevertheless, inasmuch as the complaints do not impeach the purity of his character nor his fealty to the Church, but refer to the manner of his administration; and further, in view of the explanation made by Bishop Early and his expressed willingness to guard against giving offense in the future, on the point above referred to, his character do now pass. Also, that in the action had against Bishop Early this conference does explicitly and emphatically disavow any intention of interfering with the Episcopal prerogative in fixing the appointments of preachers." The result was an entire vindication of the Bishop, and he hereafter continued to discharge the delicate duties of that eminent office with entire acceptability.<sup>24</sup>

At the General Conference of 1866 in New Orleans, among the first official actions was the passage of this resolution: "That the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, fully approves the action of Bishop Early in

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<sup>22</sup>Samuel S. Early, *Early Family*, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup>Buckley, *American Church History*, Vol. V, p. 627.

<sup>24</sup>Buckley, *American Church History*, Vol. V. p. 628.





admitting the Baltimore Conference into the fellowship of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

We now turn at this period of Bishop Early's career to a further survey of his continued relationship with Randolph-Macon College. The year 1868 had not been a prosperous one for the college. The financial condition of the country was poor, owing to the late war. The South was still reeling from the effects of that blow. In addition, dissatisfaction with the location of the college had been steadily increasing since 1863.<sup>25</sup> This feeling thus generated was to culminate in the annual meeting of 1868. It was becoming imperative that something should be done to prevent the closing of the college. Hence some, who had previously opposed removal, now threw their influence in its favor. After great discussion and deliberation, the motion of Dr. J. E. Edwards, "That in the judgment of the Board of Trustees, for the greater prosperity of the institution, Randolph-Macon College should be removed from its present, to a more accessible and eligible location," was adopted by a vote of nineteen to nine. Steps were immediately taken to secure from the proper authorities the necessary change of charter, that the change might be allowed. Ashland, Va., had already been determined upon as the future home of the college.

A committee, of which Bishop Early was chairman, forthwith entered into communication with General Stoneman, commanding general District No. 1, requesting his co-operation in the proposed removal, in the event of a threatened injunction on the part of the minority to restrain the removal. To this communication General Stoneman replied at length, granting the authority to the trustees of removal, thus affectually preventing any prospective hindrances which the minority might have desired to place in the way of the proposed change. Preliminary steps were taken to secure the removal of the college at once, and Bishop Early was one of the committee authorized to elect the several professors and a president.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 172.

<sup>26</sup>Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 179.



Especially marked as the Bishop thus was for his business capacity, and for his qualities of leadership in all that claimed his interest and attention, he was frequently called upon to render important services, not only by the Church, but by the State as well. He was repeatedly nominated for Congress, but as often declined the honor as a distraction from his ministerial office.<sup>27</sup> The general government offered him the governorship of Illinois when it was a territory; President Adams solicited him to accept the same office in the territory of Arkansas, and President Tyler, that of Comptroller of the Treasury, but his answer was that "he could not come down" to such positions.<sup>28</sup>

It was only in the town of Lynchburg, near which he was raised and with which throughout his life he was so intimately associated, and where he resided for the greater part of his life, that he found time apart from his official duties with the Church, to aid with his wise counsel and advice on the several committees of the Council chamber. Lynchburg was indeed fortunate in the possession of such a trusted counsellor and of such an unselfish soul. Notwithstanding his active employment and the frequent traveling incident upon his profession, he left with the town a work which lives through all times.<sup>29</sup>

He was well-nigh indispensable to its local government in its councils and public proceedings. In 1822 he first appears as one of seven members of a Board of Managers who, on September 20th of that year, made application to the General Assembly for articles of incorporation for a public school. Their very first efforts met with success, for on February 14, 1823, the Legislature incorporated the Lynchburg Charity School, the town's first organized effort for public education.<sup>30</sup>

Very soon after this an event of almost equal importance in the history of the town took place. On November 25, 1825, Rev. John Early was appointed on a committee of four to

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<sup>27</sup> Abel Stevens, *History, M. E. Church*, Vol. IV. p. 217.

<sup>28</sup> Abel Stevens, *History M. E. Church*, Vol. IV, p. 217.

<sup>29</sup> Julia Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*, p. 124.

<sup>30</sup> Asbury Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 75.





devise means for bringing water into the town. The plan, as proposed by the committee, for a water works was far from being heartily received. Nevertheless a lot for the situation of the reservoir was bought from John Early for two thousand dollars (\$2,000), and work on the construction was begun with impressive ceremonies.

After the work had been finally completed, and the time for the trial of the machinery had arrived, there were rumors of threatened violence to the committee in event of the failure of the project. On the contrary, however, the scheme proved a most decided success, and Early became one of the heroes of the day.

Among other enterprises Early was a great advocate of the James River and Kanawha canal, and for many years struggled ably and persistently in its behalf. He became the very right hand man of Joseph C. Cabell, the father of the work.

In 1835 Early was appointed chairman of a committee to petition the Legislature to incorporate the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad Company, the bill being passed in 1836.

By 1854 the population of Lynchburg increasing so rapidly, and the burying grounds proving correspondingly inadequate, Bishop Early and others planned to open a new cemetery. An association was accordingly formed, consisting of the Bishop as president, which, after overcoming many difficulties, formally dedicated Spring Hill Cemetery, the most beautiful of the numerous burying grounds in the town.

During the Reconstruction days, at the time when General Curtis was in command of the district about Lynchburg, he was a warm friend and frequent adviser of that officer in the duties attendant upon the re-establishment of the old order.

It should, perhaps, seem strange that a man so devoted to his Church and who performed such prodigious labor in his profession should have found time for secular occupations at once important and laborious. Yet his solicitude for the general good was irrepressible, and his strong intellect was always given with alacrity to whatever work of improvement that promised good results to his people. It should seem



equally strange to some, too, that he should have exhibited such public devotion to Lynchburg in all its affairs when the opportunity was repeatedly afforded him of serving his State and country in a much more prominent capacity. This it was especially that marked him as a great man; his love of doing good for the sake of good.

Although a vigorous writer, Bishop Early published only a few of his sermons and a few occasional pamphlets, some of the latter relating to the disruption controversy in the Church. Withal, however, the Bishop was a most liberal patron of letters. In the *Southern Literary Messenger's* first issue the name of John Early appears as one of its first subscribers and patrons.

As a presiding officer Bishop Early was distinguished for his precision, dispatch and business. At the sessions of the General Conference he was "a chronic member of the opposition"; in fact he was sometimes jocularly called "Brother Negative." So well acquainted were his fellow delegates with his tendency to an adverse view of all matters that when at times they desired his aid towards measures which they had at heart, they would sometimes profess antagonism to them in order to secure his support.

He was a Protestant to the verge of fanaticism, and his hostility to Romanism was intense and uncompromising.<sup>31</sup> The following is told of him upon one of his visits to Baltimore when led to make enquiry as to the head of an establishment bearing as the proprietor's name, his own, Early, which fully bears this out: Addressing the proprietor, he said, "Do you belong to the Church of Rome?" Being assured that such was not the case, he said, "Well, then, I hope I may be able to discover a kinsman in you. Had you clung to the degrading superstitions which, I am sorry to say, constituted the creed of my ancestors, I should not care to trace a relationship; unless indeed I might by so doing, under God's providence, be made the instrument of your conversion."

Yet, notwithstanding the truculent championship of his

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<sup>31</sup>Samuel S. Early, *Early Family*, p. 23.



personal views, the Bishop was refined and gentle in his social intercourse and a charming companion. It is said that no man of his calling ever knew more men in the southern and western States. No man ever lived in Virginia who was more intimately or more widely known, nor knew more men.<sup>32</sup> Certain it is indeed that no man was ever beloved by more men, nor contributed more unselfishly to the service of man.

Bishop Early's bearing was brave and confident, his teaching zealous, and his style simple and emphatic. His commanding presence, erect, stout, bold and frank—he moved with an evident consciousness of a rectitude of purpose and a solemn sense of duty. Active and dauntless, he never lost an opportunity to advance any cause he espoused, and he was never deterred from the discharge of a duty that he felt called upon to perform. He was possessed of genuine personal valor and of the exigencies of extensive travel, to which he was exposed in pursuit of his mission, in frontier districts, among rude populations. There are numerous reminiscences showing his self-possession and strong will in language and in manner. For manhood, energy, strong ideas, strong language and that earnestness which influences men because of its honesty and truth, Bishop Early was a very rare man indeed.<sup>33</sup>

To a servant so faithful and true the Lord had decreed days of great length and breadth. On November 5, 1876, Bishop Early died at his home in Lynchburg, after one of the most laborious and eventful careers in the history of American Methodist itinerancy. Yet until borne down by the infirmities of old age, he had taken part in every movement looking to the betterment of his city and his Church.

His funeral took place from the Court Street church, and although it was a cold, raw day, well-nigh the entire town turned out as a token of the esteem in which he was held. The schools were suspended, the stores, the post office and other public places were closed, the bells of the town were tolled and the church was draped in mourning.

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<sup>32</sup>Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, p. 22.

<sup>33</sup>*Richmond Dispatch*, November 6, 1873.





Such a one as he was enough to immortalize an age. His memory is a living place in our councils, our churches and at our firesides. Neither the college which he so zealously aided in founding, nor the city whose interests he kept always at heart, nor the Church which he so firmly strengthened and established will ever let the name of John Early be forgotten.

His body sleeps in the shadow of the Blue Hills, in the burial ground he established, and his spirit, like a presiding genius, abides with us, inalienable and venerable, pointing to the old paths and beckoning us ever onward.



## PHILIP PENDLETON BARBOUR.

By P. P. Cynn, A. B., A. M.<sup>1</sup>

In the period following the War of 1812 both nationality and democracy advanced with tremendous strides in the United States. The war had done two things: it had produced a new set of conditions, and it had awakened a new spirit in the people. Perhaps the most fateful of the new movements was the rapid expansion of the West. Immigration was large; the territories were rapidly prepared for statehood, and the influence of the new conditions was felt everywhere.<sup>2</sup> Nationalism grew rapidly at the North and particularism at the South, which had already become a minority section. It was in this period that the "Virginia Dynasty" ended its rule and that Virginia's statesmen ceased to be powerful. Yet the long line of her patriots was not entirely ended. Among those left was Philip Pendleton Barbour, who continued to follow the Jeffersonian teachings.

The family from which P. P. Barbour was descended was one of the oldest and most respectable in Virginia. There is some confusion as to its founder. A sort of tradition makes him a Scotchman and the time of his coming to this country about the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time there were two Barbours in this country, William, county lieutenant of the county of York, and one of the commissioners appointed by Governor Berkley to construct the state house at Jamestown, and a James Barbour who was a Scotch merchantman. The latter married a Miss Taliaferro and left one son who, after his father's death, found a home in Culpeper county. Later information practically proves him to have been the founder of the Barbour family in Virginia.

Thomas, a grandson of the first James Barbour and father

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<sup>1</sup>The writer of this paper is a Corean. Since his graduation he has returned to his native land to become a teacher.

<sup>2</sup>Ashley, *American Federal State*, p. 135.





of the subject of this sketch, married Mary Thomas, the daughter of Isabella Pendleton and Richard Thomas.<sup>3</sup> He was a signer of the famous non-importation agreement of 1769 and represented his county in the House of Burgesses in 1775 and later. In a letter to his brother Arthur, Richard Henry Lee expressed satisfaction at having such intelligent and patriotic men as Thomas Barbour in the State councils.<sup>4</sup>

P. P. Barbour was born May 25, 1783, in Orange county. His lavish hospitality, accompanied as it had been by a series of disasters, made it impossible for his father to offer him that liberal education which his talents and early promise would have justified. He was, therefore, sent to the local schools, where he early developed many of those qualities for which he later became so distinguished. He exhibited great aptitude for the acquisition of languages, and with a correct taste and strong memory sought out and retained through life the beauties of the Greek and Roman classics. He remained at school until the end of 1799. During the early part of 1800 he studied law at home, but in October of that year he determined to visit Kentucky, where under great difficulty and embarrassment he was admitted to the bar and commenced the practice of law. In the summer of 1801 he yielded to the persuasion of friends and returned to Virginia to study in William and Mary College,<sup>5</sup> but he soon resumed the practice of law in his native State.

In October, 1804, young Barbour was united in marriage with Frances Johnson, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Johnson, of Orange county, Virginia. During the next eight years he applied himself unceasingly to his profession and gained a wide reputation and distinction as a criminal lawyer.<sup>6</sup> Later he made an argument in the celebrated case *Cohens vs. Virginia*. In a characteristically subtle and analytical manner he contended that the true construction of the federal Constitution

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<sup>3</sup>*William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup>*Peter's Reports*.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*



limited the appellate power of the Supreme Court of the United States to the revision of the judgments of the federal courts alone, and that, although a federal question was directly involved in the case under argument, no question appeared upon the record of which the federal Supreme Court could take cognizance, inasmuch as the case had been brought in a State court and the defendant had not exercised his right of removal to the federal court.<sup>7</sup>

In 1812 Barbour was elected a member of the General Assembly as a delegate from the county of Orange.<sup>8</sup> In this capacity he served upon several important committees, notably that of justice and finance. This service was terminated in 1814 by his election as a representative in the federal Congress to fill out the unexpired term of John Dawson, deceased. Shortly after his promotion he was joined in his new field of activity by John Floyd, R. S. Garnett, C. F. Mercer, John Tyler, and others of the newer generation of statesmen. Each of them, except Mercer, set himself against the Clay-Calhoun policies of nationalism and devoted himself to the fruitless undertaking of restoring Virginia to a place of prestige in the federal government.

Their entrance into national political life was at a trying time. The West offered a tempting field both for the formation of political alliances and for a contest over commercial and material advantages. The men of the seaboard, who had heretofore been looking to the eastward now faced about to the westward. Every old scheme of inland communication by turnpike, canal or steamboat was at once revived and used with a seriousness hitherto unknown. Private enterprises now became public necessities. An era of internal improvements was inaugurated which threatened to destroy the original intention of the federal Constitution by sweeping it into the maelstrom of loose construction. The enactment of the Bonus bill would almost have accomplished this end.

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<sup>7</sup>Carson, *Supreme Court*, p. 294.

<sup>8</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, March 2, 1841; *Journal*, House of Delegates, 1812, p. 35.



In opposing the Bonus bill Barbour admitted the desirability of internal improvements. They would facilitate intercourse, diminish the expense of transportation, enlarge the markets for all products, and thus augment the totality of the wealth of the whole country. In this connection he estimated that \$700,000 would be distributed among the several States annually for twenty years by the proposed bill. Nevertheless he thought it better to apply this amount to paying the public debt.

His chief opposition to the bill was made on the ground that it violated the rights of the individual States, which he thought abundantly competent to all purposes of ordinary legislation, to the protection of the lives, liberties and property of the people, and to their own internal order, improvement, and prosperity. The federal government had been established for the purpose of concentrating the strength and resources of the several States with a view to their defence against foreign danger. It could with propriety therefore concern itself with the regulation of foreign commerce and all those external objects comprised in the field of foreign relations and with those internal objects over which power had been expressly delegated. But further than this he was unwilling for the federal power to extend. It might designate post roads, but "designate" did not mean to construct.<sup>9</sup>

Although the proposed national turnpike from Buffalo by way of Washington to New Orleans might have passed through his own congressional district Barbour opposed appropriations to it by the federal government. In his arguments against them he contended that the circumstances were different from those surrounding the construction of the National Road. In the latter case Ohio had demanded the road, while in the former both Alabama and Mississippi opposed it. He was in full accord with his colleague from New York, who spoke of the bill under consideration as follows: "This bill is entitled a bill for constructing a road from Buffalo in the State of New

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<sup>9</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 14 Cong., 2d. sess., p. 386.





York, by way of Washington, to the city of New Orleans. But when I look into the provisions of the bill, when I see the stretch of authority there attempted, when I consider the profligate expenditure of money it proposes, while I view its partiality, its cruelty, its injustice, and its usurpation, and compare it with the constitutional power of the government, the title strikes me as inappropriate. It should be entitled, 'A bill to construct a road from the liberties of the country by way of Washington to despotism.'<sup>10</sup>

Barbour regarded the Missouri Compromise as strictly unconstitutional. He contended that Congress could legally admit or reject a State, but that it had no right to impose conditions, if it took the former course. When once in the Union a State came into full possession of all the sovereign rights of any and all the original States. One of these sovereign rights was the power to shape its own local government according to the will and pleasure of its people. If they desired negro slavery, they could have it regardless of any compromise between the older States.

Furthermore, Barbour thought the Compromise unfair. The federal Constitution had guaranteed the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States. Accordingly, if an emigrant from Kentucky, Virginia, or South Carolina were denied the right to carry his negroes into the common territory and the New Englander were permitted to take his oxen and horses, the constitutional guarantees ceased to be operative, and the Constitution itself became waste paper.

Again, the Compromise was a violation of our treaty of 1803 with France, whereby we had agreed to admit the inhabitants of the Louisiana Territory to a full enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States. Meantime they were to be protected in the free enjoyment of their religion, property and liberties. The Compromise therefore ignored not only our own fundamental law but was a breach of plighted faith to France.

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<sup>10</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 21 Cong., 1st sess., p. 894-890.



Already Barbour had become one of the recognized leaders of the House. In recognition of this fact he had been given important chairmanships and was made Speaker of the Seventeenth Congress. The occasion of his election called for a man of character and decision. Sometime before Henry Clay had retired to Kentucky to resume the practice of law as a means of restoring his diminishing exchequer. As a result of his departure Congress stood sadly in need of party discipline. Scarcely had the roll call of the new Congress shown a quorum before a brisk contest arose for the Speakership. John W. Taylor, of New York, who had filled Clay's place in the previous Congress, now found three competitors on the first ballot, McLane, Rodney and Samuel Smith. The balloting continued throughout the day, but on the second day Barbour was brought forward as a candidate. By gradually uniting the opposition forces he secured an election on the twelfth ballot.<sup>11</sup> He was then said to be one of the soundest logicians in the House and was known to be a man of the highest character. His election was, therefore, a source of great comfort to the Republicans.<sup>12</sup> Had Clay continued to decline a re-election to Congress and to the Speakership, it is probable that Barbour would have distinguished himself in his new position.

In the following Congress Barbour served in the rank and file and directed his chief energies in an effort to defeat the tariff bill of 1824. To this end he maintained that the federal government did not require an increase in its revenues, that the proposed bill would decrease rather than increase the revenue, that Congress could not use its power to raise revenue so as to protect manufactures, that protection to manufactures could be had only at the expense of agriculture and commerce, and that the example of Great Britain, which we were asked to imitate, was fading away in the broad light of experience.<sup>13</sup> He estimated national wealth by the aggregate wealth and not

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<sup>11</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 1st. sess., p. 515.

<sup>12</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, December 18, 1821.

<sup>13</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong. 1st. sess., p. 1944.





by a distribution which would injure some to bring a doubtful benefit to others.

About 1825 Barbour was offered a professorship in law in the University of Virginia, which was then being established. Although Jefferson urged him to accept the call he declined and was soon elected to a judgeship of the General Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.<sup>14</sup> But his admiring constituents would not permit his withdrawal from the field of active politics. At their request he resigned his place on the bench and again accepted a re-election to Congress.

In 1829 Barbour was chosen, together with the illustrious Madison to represent his native district in the convention called to amend the Constitution of the State. The convention met in Richmond in October, 1829, and organized for work by electing officers and appointing four committees, one each on the Bill of Rights, the legislative, executive and judiciary departments of the State government. Barbour was made chairman of the Committee on the Executive Department, and when James Monroe resigned the presidency of the convention, because of ill health, Barbour was elevated to the position thus vacated.<sup>15</sup>

In the debates of the convention Barbour took a very active part, always speaking and voting with the conservatives. He opposed the proposed white basis of representation and favored instead a compound basis determined by a combination of population and taxes. Nor was he willing to grant political power to the westerners with no other security than a constitutional guarantee restricting their uses of it. As a result of his close affiliation with the interests of the slave holders he had become a convert to the theory which favored the rights of a minority to defend their property interests in both their local and national governments.<sup>16</sup>

When the free traders met at Philadelphia in September, 1831, to agree upon some plan of concerted action in opposi-

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<sup>14</sup>Jefferson to P. P. Barbour, March 21, 1825.

<sup>15</sup>*Debates*, Constitutional Convention of 1829-30.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 90-98, 135, 160, 497.



tion to the "tariff of abominations," P. P. Barbour was made president of their convention. The impression created by his remarks upon assuming the chair was long a subject of comment. They breathed forth a patriotic devotion to the whole country and pled for fairness and justice.<sup>17</sup>

After accumulating a small estate from the practice of his profession Barbour retired, in 1830, to accept a place on the federal bench as judge of the Eastern District of Virginia. Though tempting offers came, such as a place in the President's cabinet, a seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, an election to that goal of many patriotic Virginians, the governorship, and a place in the federal Senate, he declined them all and devoted himself to his duties on the federal bench.<sup>18</sup> His admirers were not content, however, to permit this second attempt to withdraw from the field of active politics. There was an urgent demand for a candidate who could defeat Van Buren's ambitions to reach the vice-presidency and ultimately the presidency. Led by Thomas W. Gilmer the strict construction wing of the Democratic party of Virginia put Barbour forward as such a man.<sup>19</sup> At once his candidacy was taken up in others of the southern States, notably Alabama and North Carolina. After a bitter fight with the organization forces of his own State his friends won the delegates to the Baltimore Convention, but their combined efforts with those of delegates from Alabama, North Carolina and South Carolina gave him only forty-nine votes.<sup>20</sup>

Chagrined at their defeat and distrustful of Van Buren's alleged nationalism and his known political methods, the Barbour party in Virginia resolved to turn the electoral vote of their State to their favorite. With the co-operation of other southern States they hoped thus to throw the election of the Vice-President into the Senate and defeat Van Buren.

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<sup>17</sup>*Philadelphia National Gazette*, October 1, 1831.

<sup>18</sup>*Peter's Reports*, volume XVI; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIV, 230; *Jackson Manuscripts*, Thomas Ritchie to Martin Van Buren, November 28, 1835.

<sup>19</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, May 15, 1832.

<sup>20</sup>*Niles Register*, XLII, 235.



An effort was made to secure a pledge from the electors on the Democratic ticket to support Barbour in case the popular vote should name him as the choice of the State. The Jackson-Van Buren electors refused to commit themselves to this arrangement, and a Jackson-Barbour ticket was placed in the field. As finally launched the Barbour party professed devotion to Jackson, applauded the bank veto, and denounced the tariff. The election of Barbour was urged as necessary to break up that "nest of harpies" that hovered about the federal capital, to teach Jackson that he could not impose the political methods of New York upon Virginia, and to allay the excitement over the tariff.<sup>21</sup>

Led by Rives, Ritchie and McDowell the thoroughgoing Jacksonian Democrats remained loyal to Van Buren. They claimed that his defeat meant the election of Sergeant, the opposition candidate, and that Clay and Calhoun had combined to defeat Jackson and Van Buren. McDowell, the leader of the western wing of this party opposed the election of Barbour on the ground that he was a nullifier. "It is not enough," said he, "to say that Mr. Barbour is no more of a nullifier than any state-rights man in Virginia." Van Buren's public declarations upon the tariff, internal improvements and a recharter of the national bank left his opponents in Virginia little room for objection to his candidacy, and the regular Democrats soon succeeded in inducing Barbour to resign his candidacy.<sup>22</sup> He is said to have been influenced in this course by the hope of a promotion to a place on the bench of the federal Supreme Court.

With a band of vigilant and influential politicians to keep his claims ever before the President the coveted place upon the federal bench came to Barbour in 1836. The occasion of his elevation to this responsible position was a happy time for the strict constructionists. Taney, a southerner and a strict constructionist, had taken Marshall's place as Chief Justice the year before, and Barbour's appointment offered a long

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<sup>21</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 206-207.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*





desired opportunity for changing the political complexion of the federal judiciary. With Taney and Barbour, and perhaps Buchanan or McLean upon the federal bench Thomas Ritchie hoped for a restoration of the reign of the Constitution.<sup>23</sup> In the following language the *Richmond Enquirer* announced the appointment and confirmation of Barbour: "And Barbour, too, the pride of the Democracy of Virginia, is now seated upon the bench of the Supreme Court, which he is so eminently fitted to adorn with his talents and enlighten with his inflexible and uncompromising state-rights principles."<sup>24</sup>

At the time of Marshall's death three cases of unusual interest and importance were pending in the federal court. They had been argued, and Judges Marshall and Story had practically decided against the unconstitutionality of the laws which they involved. Yet dissension had arisen among some of the judges, and the cases had been remanded for argument. Contrary to expectations the re-argument was made before Taney and Barbour, who, with Justices Thompson, McLean, and Baldwin, constituted a majority of the court. As they were strict constructionists Marshall's contemplated opinion was not adhered to, and the whole weight of the federal judiciary, as a nationalizing influence, was at once converted into a weapon of warfare for the strict constructionists.<sup>25</sup>

The first of these cases and that in which Barbour delivered the opinion of the court was styled *The Mayor of the City of New York vs. Miln*. By a legislative enactment the State of New York had required the masters of vessels entering the port of New York to make a written report regarding the number of passengers which they carried and had imposed a penalty for the non-performance of this duty. It was held that the decision in the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden* made such a law constitutional. Justice Barbour held, however, that the state statute did not amount to a regulation of commerce but was a mere police regulation, and therefore clearly within the

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<sup>23</sup>Jackson Manuscripts, Thomas Ritchie to Van Buren, November 28, 1835.

<sup>24</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, March 19, 1836.

<sup>25</sup>Carson, *The Supreme Court*, pp. 303-311.



powers belonging to the State. The case did not involve the right of Congress to regulate commerce but simply the internal jurisdiction of the State of New York. Besides, in the one case the subject matter was "vessels," in the other "persons." "Persons," said the court, "are not the subjects of commerce," and did not therefore fall under the constitutional provision which gave Congress the right to regulate commerce and to prohibit States from imposing duties.<sup>26</sup>

What promised to be a brilliant career upon the federal bench was cut short by Barbour's sudden and unexpected death in February, 1841. On the night before his death he had met his associate judges in their conference room, where his cheerful mood and pleasant temper was much in evidence. At the time of his retiring he gave no evidences of disagreeable feelings, either of mind or of body. But to the surprise of all he failed to appear in the dining room on schedule time the following morning. His associate judges waited and finally sent the servant to ascertain the cause of his delay. He brought no message, and Judges Taney and Story went to Barbour's room, where they found him lying upon his side in a perfectly natural easy composure, his arms gently folded on his breast, and his face as serene and free as if he were in the enjoyment of a slumber. He had evidently passed to the great eternity in the silent, solemn stillness of sleep.<sup>27</sup>

After his death he was paid the usual honors of a worthy public servant. The Supreme Court and Congress adjourned and joined with Washington in mourning. On March 2d a large concourse assembled at Mrs. Turner's, from whence they accompanied the remains of the deceased to the rooms of the Supreme Court, where the usual services were performed by the Chaplain of Congress. His body was then sent to his native county for burial.

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<sup>26</sup>Carson, *The Supreme Court*, p. 303.

<sup>27</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, March 2, 9, 1841.





## THE SONS OF GOVERNOR JOHN FLOYD.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN BUCHANAN FLOYD.

John Buchanan Floyd obtained his collegiate education at the South Carolina College in Columbia, his father preferring that institution to any other. After his graduation he returned to his home at Thorn Spring, Montgomery county, Virginia, and commenced the study of law. It was characteristic of the man that he had no preceptor but wrought out his own course of reading, in the independent, self-reliant way, which marked his whole life. Having obtained his license, he settled at Wytheville, to practice his profession. But about that time, what was called the "Southern fever" was at its height. Marvelous stories were told of the immense fortunes to be made in the Southwest planting cotton, and the rush of emigration to that region was so great that it seemed as if the East would be depopulated. The road leading through Abingdon was one of the principal routes and it was thronged all day, by an apparently never-ending procession of wagons, horsemen and people on foot. Mr. Floyd fell into the prevailing passion and abandoning his home and profession, went to Arkansas to raise cotton and settled at a place called Swan Lake.

But most unfortunately for him, this movement was made just at the commencement of the most severe and prolonged financial pause through which the country has ever passed. The western movement had stimulated prices and called into existence a number of banks, all over the South and West. Their paper was the only currency the people in that region had. But the banks rested on no substantial basis, and their issues of paper money were so large that it alarmed some of the most prudent men, who fearing a loss, presented their money for redemption and thus precipitated a run. The banks

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<sup>1</sup>The following biographies of John Buchanan Floyd, William Preston Floyd, George Rogers Clark Floyd, and Benjamin Rush Floyd were written by their kinsman and contemporary, Senator John W. Johnston, and are a part of a voluminous manuscript left by him on the Johnston, Floyd, Preston, and Bowen families.—Editor.



were not able to redeem one dollar in a hundred, scarcely one in a thousand, and they closed their doors, millions of dollars were lost to the people, and they were left almost entirely without any circulating medium. Property of all sorts fell in price to nothing; men who were in debt were unable to pay, and the progress of the Southwest, which the day before was rushing along at railroad speed, all of the people being active and full of hope and expectation, on the next day was brought to a sudden stop as if the whole country had been frozen stiff. Things could not have been more stationary.

Mr. Floyd did not escape the misfortunes which befell the whole community. His enterprise was a failure and to add to his troubles he was attacked by a violent fever which was very prolonged and from which he barely escaped with his life. These events rendered his return to Virginia necessary, and he went to live in Burke's Garden, in Tazewell county, where his brother, G. R. C. Floyd, had bought a tract of splendid land containing three thousand acres.

Burke's Garden is a peculiar and beautiful place. Its area is about ten miles in length and six in width and it is an elevated and almost level plateau, surrounded entirely by mountains, the only opening being the gap through which the waters rising in the valley have their exit. The air is pure and bracing and speedily restored Mr. Floyd to good health. He spent about three years there and then removed to Abingdon to practice law, which he continued to do till 1848, when he was elected to the legislature. The reputation he acquired in that body was such that he was elected governor.

It was during his administration that the Washington Monument in the Capitol Square in Richmond was designed and made. This is by far the grandest work of its sort in the United States, and as far as can be judged from photographs of the principal equestrian statues in Europe, in the whole world. Governor Floyd took great interest in the design and construction both and personally superintended the work while in progress.

A State loan being made necessary to carry on works of



internal improvement authorized by the legislature, and the power to negotiate it being vested in the governor by the law, Governor Floyd succeeded for the first and last time in the history of the State of disposing of its bonds at a premium.

His term of office having expired, he returned to Abingdon and again devoted himself to his profession, till the canvass for governor and the members of the General Assembly in Virginia came on in 1855. This canvass will ever be memorable in the history of the State, for it was the one in which the great contest with the Know-Nothing Party took place. That party commenced as a secret society, its main object being to prevent emigration to this country, to persecute the Catholics and to control public affairs. Its members were bound to secrecy and obedience. Its meetings were held at night, and in places unknown to the public and its whole object and plans were dangerous to the government and to civil liberty itself. It absorbed the old Whig Party and many Democrats, attracted by curiosity and not knowing its scope and purposes, joined it and the outlook was that it was going to take possession of the governments, both State and Federal. The excitement throughout the country was not exceeded by that accompanying the breaking out of the war. Virginia was the first State in which the struggle between the Democrats and Know-Nothings took place and the whole country watched it with the deepest interest. Henry A. Wise was the Democratic candidate for governor, and Thomas S. Flournoy, his opponent. Wise made a campaign of great activity and vigor, and spoke in all the larger counties of the State. The interest that Governor Floyd took in all public affairs impelled him to become one of the Democratic candidates for the legislature in Washington county, and he entered into the canvass with great zeal, and it need not be said, brought great abilities into the contest. Among the first fruits of the speeches, which were listened to by great crowds, was the return of many Democrats who had thoughtlessly gone into the Know Nothing meetings and become members of the order to the Democratic Party. Wise





was elected governor and Governor Floyd to the legislature and the backbone of the Know Nothing Party forever broken.

Nothing of very special interest occurred at that session of the legislature. The excitement of the canvass was followed by a period of quiet, which was not broken till the presidential election of 1856 took place. James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate was elected. Governor Floyd took a very active part in this canvass. He was invited to speak in New York and did so in the open air on a stand erected for the purpose in Wall Street. His speech was reported in full and published in entirety in the leading Democratic papers of the country.

Mr. Floyd was appointed Secretary of War by the President. The first years of the administration were not attended by any event worth recording. Later on, however, two things occurred, apparently without any significance in themselves, but resulting in the gravest consequences to Secretary Floyd. General Gaines, who was Quartermaster General of the United States Army, died, and it was necessary to appoint his successor. Only three officers were considered in connection with the place, all of whom subsequently became renowned. They were Joseph E. Johnston, Robert E. Lee and Albert Sidney Johnston. Jefferson Davis had once been Secretary of War and was then United States Senator from Mississippi, and he favored Albert Sidney Johnston and advocated his appointment with great zeal and warmth. Secretary Floyd however, preferred Joseph E. Johnston, and the place was awarded to him, which gave him the rank of Brigadier General. Such was the temperament of Mr. Davis and so greatly were his feelings enlisted that he never forgot or forgave the transaction. From that moment dated the hostility which he displayed ever afterwards both to Mr. Floyd and Gen. J. E. Johnston, and which is supposed to have influenced his conduct throughout the war to these gentlemen and in the opinion of many people, led to most disastrous results.

The other thing which led to after troubles was the appointment of Godard Bailey by Jacob Thompson, Secretary



of the Interior, to a clerkship in his department, at the instance of Mr. Floyd. Unfortunately, the place given him involved the custody of the securities, held by the government in trust for the Indians. Bailey embezzled a considerable sum which fact was soon afterwards discovered, and an examination of the matter led to the disclosure that he had deposited part of the money to his own credit in the Banking House of Corcoran and Riggs, and had turned another part over to the firm of Russell, Mason & Co. And when charged with the crime, he had the ingratitude and audacity to declare that he did it on account of and for the protection of Secretary Floyd, although the money was shown to have been otherwise used.

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency on November, 1860, was the signal for the civil conflict which speedily ensued. He was elected on an anti-slavery platform and received no vote in the slave-holding States. South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession and claimed the right to take possession of all property within her limits, including forts, custom houses, etc., theretofore belonging to the United States Government. There were three forts at Charleston—Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumpter and Castle Pinckney. The force of the United States was not sufficient to man all the places, but occupied Fort Moultrie at the time under the command of Major Anderson.

The State of South Carolina after its secession appointed three commissioners to treat with the United States in regard to the forts and other property of the latter in the State. They addressed a communication to President Buchanan, putting forward their demands, one of which was "the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," adding that they were a standing menace, likely to lead to a bloody issue. This demand was immediately prompted by the change of troops from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, which the people of South Carolina regarded as a hostile movement. The President refused to comply with this demand, stating in his answer that Major Anderson had acted on his own responsibility and without authority in moving





from one fort to the other. What the views of Secretary Floyd were will appear from his instructions to Major Anderson, which were as follows:

“You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War that a collision of the troops with the people of this State shall be avoided and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the force and forts in this harbor, which shall guard against such collision. He has, therefore, carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works or interfere with their occupancy.”

“But as the counsel of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.”

“You are carefully to avoid any act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression and for that reason you are not, without necessity, to take up any position which would be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you perhaps to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on either of them will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them, which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.”

Major Anderson's removal to Fort Sumter was before any hostile act had been committed and Secretary Floyd insisted that he had disobeyed orders, and that in the interest of good discipline and in the hope of avoiding war, he should be or-



dered to return immediately to Fort Moultrie. But the President did not agree with him, and declined to permit any order to issue to require his return. This brought about an issue of a very sharp and pronounced character between the President and Secretary Floyd, and there seemed no course left for the latter but to resign, which he did on the 29th December, 1860. As soon as Major Anderson left Fort Moultrie, the State of South Carolina seized it and Castle Pinckney and when it was made apparent that the troops would not be withdrawn from Sumter, batteries were erected and the fort fired upon and the war inaugurated.

After his resignation, Mr. Floyd returned to his home in Abingdon. Only two days after his resignation a resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives, instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire and report to the House, how, to whom and at what price the public arms distributed since the first day of January, 1860, have been disposed of; and also, into the condition of the forts, arsenals, dockyards, etc.

This resolution was the fruit of a charge made by the Republican Party, that Secretary Floyd had transferred arms from the North to the South in violation of law, in furtherance of an alleged conspiracy to dissolve the Union and bring on war. On the 18th day of February, 1861, the committee made their report. The committee was openly hostile to Mr. Floyd and he was not called upon to appear before it and make his defense. It was a movement to destroy him *ex parte* proceeding. But so far from having that effect, it was a complete vindication of him, though not so intended and though prepared wholly by his enemies. But the facts as disclosed by an examination of the law and of the records of the War Office were conclusive in favor of the propriety and legality of the proceedings of Secretary Floyd in regard to the sale and transfer of arms.

A law passed March 3d, 1825, authorized the Secretary of War to sell any arms, ammunition or other military stores, which should be found unsuitable for the public service. The



government, before Mr. Floyd became Secretary of War, had already begun to manufacture a better quality of arms, and desired to substitute them for the old heavy and cumbersome musket, which it was desirable to dispose of as fast as the new arms could take their place. The committee ascertained, that during the period they were required to investigate, that Secretary Floyd had sold the following arms, viz.:

To Whom Sold.	No.	Date of Sale.	Where Sold.
J. M. Zacharie & Co	4000	Feb. 3rd.	St. Louis.
James T. Ames	1000	Mar. 14th	New York.
Captain G. Barry	80	June 11th	St. Louis.
M. C. N. Swift	400	Aug. 31st	Springfield.
Do.	80	Nov. 13th	Do
State of Alabama	1000	Sep. 27th	Baton Rouge.
Do.	2500	Nov. 14th	Do.
State of Virginia	5000	Nov. 6th	Washington.
Philips County, Ark.	50	Nov. 16th	St. Louis.
G. B. Barnes	10000	Nov. 24th	Watervliet.

These arms were all old flint lock muskets, altered to percussion. It will be seen that they were sold indifferently out of arsenals, North and South, and these sales therefore could not have been made for the purposes charged.

But the most conclusive acquittal of Secretary Floyd is found in that portion of the report, which gives statements, as to the number of arms in arsenals North and South. The committee, called on the Ordnance Office for an official statement, in regard to the number of small arms in the country and where they were located. The answer was sent by the Chief of Ordnance on 21st January, 1861, after Mr. Floyd's resignation and developed these facts: There were at the date of the answer of the Ordnance Office in all the arsenals of the United States as follows:





Percussion muskets and muskets altered to percussion of calibre 69 .....	499,554
Percussion rifles, calibre 54.....	42,011
Total .....	541,565

Of these, the number deposited in the Southern arsenals was ..... 60,878  
 Leaving in the possession of the United States in Northern arsenals, this number .....480,687

These facts taken from the records of the United States reduced the charges against Secretary Floyd to this absurdity—that having a treasonable design to overthrow the government of the United States and desiring and intending to equip the Southern people with arms, which would ensure their success against the North, when hostilities did ensue, and having control by virtue of his office of all the arms in the United States, he placed in the hands of the Southern people 60,878 guns, and in the hands of the Northern people 480,687!

When hostilities between the sections commenced, President Davis appointed Mr. Floyd a Brigadier General and authorized him to raise a brigade, which he succeeded in doing very soon after he received his commission.

In the beginning of the war, one of the main features of the policy of the United States was to throw forces into the border States, where a portion of the population was known to be favorable to the Northern side, with the view of strengthening that sentiment and overawing those who inclined to join the South. The northern part of Virginia and the States of Missouri and Kentucky, were the special fields for carrying out these tactics. Among the earliest conflicts were those which took place in that part of Virginia which is now West Virginia. Two armies were sent into that region by the Washington Government—one ascending the Kanawha River—the other under the command of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, through the State in a southeasterly direction; the objective point of



both being apparently, the Falls of Kanawha. Gen. Floyd was dispatched to meet the forces under Rosecrans and Gen. H. A. Wise that coming up the Kanawha.

The Gauley and New River form a junction near the Falls and make the Kanawha. Gen. Floyd ascended the Gauley, to Carafe Ferry and then crossed the river and took a position on the western side. By the time he did this, Rosecrans had penetrated to the same neighborhood and the two armies were very near each other. Gen. Wise had encountered a superior force under Gen. Jacob O. Cook, and was falling back before it, while nothing but skirmishing took place between them.

Gen. Floyd's whole force consisted of new men, with very little training and no experience, but the result showed that they had plenty of valor.

Gen. Floyd and Gen. Wise, who commanded two armies operating in the same region, and between which the most complete accord and concurrence of action should have existed, had been political rivals and the feeling between them was far from friendly. Gen. Floyd was the senior officer and it was the duty of him to obey his orders. It is certain that there was no useful co-operation between the forces and that the public service was not advanced by their dissension. As Floyd was in command the failure of Wise to support him would *prima facie*, throw the blame on the latter.

Gen. Floyd had less than two thousand men fit for service. He had asked for reinforcements and they had been promised, but they could not arrive in time. He had desired a junction of Wise's forces with his but that was not affected. When it was apparent that he would have to depend entirely on his own inadequate force, he selected the best position he could find and fortified it as well as he could, with the means at his command and in the short time allowed him.

Rosecrans advanced on the evening of September 10, 1861, and made the attack about three in the afternoon. His force was estimated at from eight to ten thousand, outnumbering the Confederates at least four to one. The Federals had several field batteries which kept up a fire as long as the action





lasted, which was till it became too dark to continue. Floyd maintained his position along the whole line. But having definitely ascertained the number of the army confronting him and knowing that it would be reinforced, and knowing too that General Cook was advancing, and unless checked, which Wise did not seem able to do, would get into his rear, he saw that the only thing left for him was to fall back to a position where he could not be assailed both in front and rear. He crossed the Gauley in the night, bringing away his whole force and all his equipments.

The battle lasted nearly four hours with constant firing, and yet such was the careful and skillful disposition of the Confederate forces, that not a man was killed and only twenty wounded. It was believed that the Federal loss was very heavy, though Gen. Rosecrans reports his at seventeen killed, and one hundred and forty-one wounded, and he states that "more exhausted troops than ours I never saw." The Federals made five distinct and successive assaults and were repulsed in all of them.

What the authorities of Richmond thought of this action is shown by the following extract of a letter to Gen. Floyd from the Confederate Secretary of War:

"I take great pleasure in communicating to you the congratulations of the President, as well as my own, on this brilliant affair, in which the cool conduct and steady valor of your whole command were so conspicuously displayed."

And the authorities demonstrated very early and very emphatically what they thought of the relative conduct of Generals Wise and Floyd, by the following order, viz.:

War Dept., C. S. A.

Richmond, September 20, 1861.

"Brig. Gen. Henry A. Wise,

Gauley River via Lewisburg, Va.

Sir: You are instructed to turn over all the troops heretofore immediately under your command to Gen. Floyd and report yourself in person to the Adjutant General in this



City, with the least delay. In making the transfer to Gen. Floyd, you will include everything under your command."

By order of the President.

J. P. BENJAMIN,  
Acting Secretary of War."

Gen. Floyd crossed the Kanawha and took a position at Cotton Hill on the south side of the river. After a good deal of manouvering but no more fighting, the Federal forces were withdrawn and Gen. Floyd, with his command, was ordered to Tennessee where General Albert Sidney Johnston was in control.

Navigable streams afforded the Federal troops the best routes for advancing into this Southern territory. They had the means to construct vessels and they built with all haste a number of iron-clad gunboats capable of carrying very heavy guns. They were made broad, so as to afford as steady a basis to fire from as possible, and every effort was employed to clothe them with iron, thick enough to be impenetrable to shot. A strong army following the course of a navigable river was of course, very greatly strengthened by a fleet of these gunboats accompanying.

The two streams which offered the most available access to the very heart of the Confederacy were the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. The Cumberland rose in Southeastern Kentucky, flowed into the State of Tennessee, in a southwesterly direction to Nashville, where it made a sudden bend and went towards the northwest and emptied into the Ohio, not far from its mouth. Having control of it, the Federals would have access to the capital of Tennessee.

The Tennessee was a larger and longer stream and was more important to both sides than the Cumberland, important as that was. It has its sources in Southwestern Virginia and Western North Carolina—the Clinch, the Holston and the French Broad unite with it and make a magnificent stream which passes Knoxville and Chattanooga, penetrates Alabama to Huntsville, at which point it changes its course and crosses



Tennessee again, and traversing Kentucky joins the Ohio a little west of the mouth of the Cumberland. In Kentucky the two rivers approach each other very nearly and are parallel, till they reach the Ohio.

This brief statement demonstrates at once the almost incalculable value of both the rivers to United States and Confederate States. The authorities of the latter did not fail to see this and took steps to prevent their capture. Unfortunately, however, for them, both rivers ran through Kentucky and it was in that State that it was most desirable to defend them and where the most suitable positions for the purpose were to be found. But Kentucky had not seceded and the Confederates would not enter her territory and erect defences there without her consent. So all that remained to do was to select the best locations in Tennessee as near the northern boundary of the State as possible and construct forts there. Engineers were sent to examine the country and choose good points for the construction of two forts, one on each river. They took a place where the rivers approached within twelve miles of each other and located Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. One object was to make these forts mutually supporting and with that view they were both put on the peninsula, so that communication could be had between the two, without crossing either stream.

The efforts of the Federals were directed against Fort Henry first. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, an officer of high reputation, was entrusted with the defence of both Forts Henry and Donelson, and specially, to put them in the best possible condition to resist the attacks which it was known would be made upon them. This order was dated November 17, 1861, and instructed him to push forward the completion of the works and their armament with the utmost activity."

As soon as he took command, he put a stop to work then in progress, placing obstructions in the Cumberland, to prevent or to delay at least the passage of gun boats. Why this order





was given does not appear, but it would seem to have been a very injudicious step.

Gen. Grant was then in command in Kentucky and on 28th of January, 1862, he telegraphed to Washington as follows: "With permission, I will take Fort Henry on the Tennessee and establish and hold a large camp there;" and in reply to this received authority to advance at once and was furnished with 17,000 men and seven gunboats with which to make his movement.

Gen. Tilghman had been in charge of the defences for nearly three months and if they were in an incomplete or inefficient condition, the blame should rest on him. He was specially ordered more than once and in the most positive and emphatic terms to push forward the work unceasingly. That he failed to do so is certain and he even was so derelict that after the engineers had prepared all the plans and submitted them to him, he retained them for a long time with a force of laborers remaining idle and the fate of the Confederate States depending in a great degree upon his action. He seems to have had no qualification for such a position except personal courage. On the 4th of February, Tilghman who was at Fort Donelson heard heavy firing at Fort Henry and proceeded to the latter place, reaching there in the night. He had a force of about 3,300 men there. He seems to have intended to make a fight, but suddenly changed his mind and sent his whole force away to Fort Donelson, remaining in the fort himself with only eighty men.

On the 6th day of February, the gunboats advanced to the attack. The fleet consisted of seven vessels, of which three carried thirteen guns each and four nine guns each, making seventy-five in all. Gen. Johnston, with his eighty men, undertook to fight this formidable fleet, and did actually keep up the contest for more than two hours, when several of his guns were disabled and he and his men worn out; and he surrendered and the way was opened to the very centre of the Confederate States.

The sudden collapse of Fort Henry had the effect of dis-



couraging both generals and men. The gunboats were new features of warfare and their success at their first encounter naturally produced a feeling that they were irresistible. It was known that an advance, formidable both by land and water, would be promptly made on Fort Donelson, which even if it could successfully resist for a time, would have to be abandoned in the end, for the possession of the Tennessee River would enable the Federals to get into its rear and then insulate it and compel its evacuation. As a defensive position the two places had to live or fall together. They were essential to each other, and after the fall of one, it would, in any event, only be a question of time as to when the other should share the same fate. The opinion entertained by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston on this point is shown from the following extract from his letter of Feb. 8, 1862, to the Secretary of War: "The slight resistance at Fort Henry indicates that the best open earthworks are not reliable to meet successfully a vigorous attack of iron-clad gunboats, and although now supported by a considerable force, I think the gunboats of the enemy will probably take Fort Donelson, without the necessity of employing their land force in co-operation, as seems to have been done at Fort Henry." And yet under the gallant and skillful defence made, it took the land force and gunboats combined four days of incessant conflict to take the fort, and at the expense of great loss.

The fort was about a hundred yards from the river and thirty feet above it. The river at that point made a long and regular bend. In the rear and farther away was a line of knobs or irregular hills. Three small streams emptied into the river, within the Confederate lines, which being backed up by high water in the river, interfered somewhat with the communication between the different positions of the Confederate Army. The fort was equipped on the water side with thirteen guns—eight thirty-two pounders, three thirty-two pound cannonades, one ten inch columbiad, and one reflex gun of thirty-two pound calibre. Of these, the only two that could make anything like a contest with the gunboats were the columbiad





and the reflex canon. The others were so light that their shot made no impression on an iron-clad.

The United States fleet consisted of seven vessels, four of which were armed each with thirteen guns, and three with nine guns, making seventy-nine in all. So that each of the heavy iron-clads had a number of guns equal to all in the fort in number and much superior in weight and calibre.

At half-past ten at night on 12th February, Gen. Johnston telegraphed to Gen. Floyd, as follows: "My information from Donelson is that a battle will be fought in the morning. Leave a small force at Clarksville and take remainder, if possible, to Donelson to-night." This order was received a little before midnight and at daylight next morning Gen. Floyd reached Donelson with his command—of course very much worn out by their night march.

Gen. Grant states in his report that "he was accompanied by 15,000 men immediately, and six regiments were sent the day before by water." Reinforcements began to arrive after the conflict began, which largely swelled the Federal forces. Their numbers were sufficient to make a continuous semi-circular cordon outside of the lines of the Confederates. Their effective force was estimated at 27,000 by Gen. Badeau, with heavy reinforcements nearby and others approaching.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise Confederate force available for action. The best estimate puts it at about twelve thousand. But they were new troops, badly armed, and scanty of provisions and worn out by hardship, exposure and fatigue. The weather turned excessively cold and snow covered the ground.

Before Floyd's men could be put into position, the fighting commenced and what is called "The Battle of the Trenches" begun, with an advance of the Federals, their batteries firing from all the hills along their line. The firing was kept up all day and the fighting very desperate at several points, but no advantage was gained by the attacking party. On the evening of that day, a flotilla arrived, bringing Gen. Grant a reinforcement of 10,000 men.



The next day, the 14th of February, "The Battle of the Gunboats" beginning about three in the afternoon was commenced. Gen. Grant, in his report, speaks of the combat in these terms. "The evening of the 13th the gunboats and reinforcements arrived. On the 14th a gallant attack was made by Flag-Officer Foote upon the enemy's works with the fleet. The engagement lasted probably an hour and a half and bid fair to result favorably to the cause of the Union, when two unlucky shots disabled two of the armored boats so that they were carried back by the current. The remaining two were very much disabled, also having received a number of heavy shots about the pilot houses and other parts of the vessels. After these mishaps, I concluded to make the investment of Fort Donelson and partially fortify and await repairs to the gunboats. This plan was frustrated, however, by the enemy making a most vigorous attack upon our right wing, commanded by Gen. J. A. McClernand, with a portion of the force under Gen. J. Wallace. The enemy were repelled after a closely contested battle of several hours, in which our loss was heavy. The officers, and particularly field officers suffered out of proportion."

The engagement referred to by Gen. Grant in the latter part of the above quotation, referred to what is known as the "Battle of Power." Dover was a small village near the fort, and on the bank of the river. It was inside of the Confederate lines. The three divisions of the besieging force which encircled the Confederates, were commanded respectively by Gen. McClernand, Gen. Wallace and Gen. C. F. Smith—the division of McClernand being the nearest the river, and Gen. Wallace's next and then two divisions, were those engaged.

The battle began at six o'clock in the morning by Baldwin's Brigade, 1,385 strong, consisting of two Mississippi and one Tennessee regiment, and the whole Confederate force was engaged except 3,000 men left in the fort to hold it—a step which was necessary, as the division of Gen. C. F. Smith took no part in the fight, but would undoubtedly have seized the fort, if left unguarded. The weather was very cold and the



Confederates much worn out, yet they fought desperately as long as daylight lasted and then against more than double their own numbers, and had the best of the contest. But cold, hunger, want of sleep and constant effort had broken them, their courage did not fail them but their bodily powers did. They could hope for no assistance while Gen. Grant had already three times their number and was still receiving accessories to his forces. The Confederates had to make their attack over rough, frozen ground and thick woods, and encountered fresh obstacles at every step of their advance. The battle at one time seemed to favor the Confederates so much that Gen. Grant became anxious about the result, and ordered two of the gunboats to steam up and open fire on the fort, in the hope of creating a diversion, and also ordered Gen. Smith to attack the right wing of the Confederates. This, Smith who had held his men in readiness for an emergency, lost no time in doing and made a vigorous advance on the Confederate right. Then the singular and grand spectacle was witnessed of a vehement assault by the besieged on one wing of the besiegers, of a similar attack by the besiegers at the other end of the line and the firing of big guns between the fort and the two gunboats, and thus the fearful combat went on till darkness made it impossible to fight any longer.

The result of the day's conflict was not unfavorable to the Confederates, but they were unable to renew it. The enemy had overwhelming numbers and was receiving reinforcements of fresh men, while the Confederates had no hope of aid and were physically incapable of fighting longer. Gen. Pillow described the situation graphically; he said, "I knew that the enemy had twenty gunboats of fresh troops at his landing, then only about three miles distant. I knew from the great loss my men had sustained during the protracted fight of over seven hours they were in no condition to meet a large body of fresh troops who I had every reason to believe were then rapidly approaching the field."

After the fight was over, a consultation was held between Floyd, Pillow and Buckner to consider the situation and de-





termine what course to pursue, and they united in the opinion that there was no hope of a successful issue. McClernand had been driven from his lines and it was decided that the army would march out that way, if he had not reoccupied them. But scouts reported that he was back again in his position, and so that plan had to be abandoned. In this extremity, Floyd and Pillow agreed in declaring that they would not surrender, but preferred risking the chance of being killed in marching away from the fort. Buckner thought that nothing was left but to surrender. Floyd then turned the command over to Pillow, who at once gave it to Buckner, then the two former crossed the river accompanied by a portion of the troops and made their way to Nashville. Buckner surrendered the fort to Gen. Grant immediately on assuming command.

Gen. Johnston had fortified Bowling Green very completely and at one time must have considered it a very important strategic point. His conduct led to the belief that he was intending to maintain his ground there and risk a battle with Buell. But he astonished the whole South and created a feeling of hopelessness and indignation combined among the people and armies of the Confederates, by suddenly, on the 11th of February, beginning the evacuation of the place and retiring towards Nashville. It is impossible to describe adequately the alarm and anger caused by this movement, and his action is the more inexplicable because after he had left Bowling Green and his whole army was on its way southward, he ordered Floyd with his command from Clarksville to Fort Donelson. When he himself was in full retreat, why did he send a portion of his forces off to meet the enemy? If Fort Donelson was untenable, no force should have been sent there and the troops there ought to have been withdrawn. If it could have been saved by a fight he could have reached it in a day and night with all his men and made a fight there. He believed Fort Donelson could not be saved, for on the 7th of February, he had a conference with Generals Beauregard and Hardie, which was reduced to writing, the paper being signed by both Beauregard and Hardie; and the following is an extract from



it: "It was determined that Fort Henry on the Tennessee River having fallen yesterday into the hands of the enemy, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River not being tenable, preparation should at once be made for the removal of this army to Nashville in rear of the Cumberland River." And Gen. Johnston's biographer states that "Gen. Johnston presuming that Grant would follow up his success at Fort Henry by an immediate attack on Donelson, took his measures on the supposition that Donelson was no longer tenable and already virtually lost."

This was his conviction and yet he sent an army there, wholly inadequate in numbers for the defense, to be sacrificed and slaughtered at a place not tenable and already virtually lost. Even after the fighting at Fort Donelson had commenced and the Confederates maintained themselves, he telegraphed to Gen. Floyd, "If you lose the fort, bring your troops to Nashville, if possible."

The effect produced by the retreat of Gen. Johnston and his arrival at Nashville is described by Gen. Duke in his life of Morgan:

"The Tennessee troops were naturally most influenced by the considerations which affected the citizens, but all shared the feeling. Some wept at the thought of abandoning the City to a fate which they esteemed as dreadful as utter destruction; and many, infuriated, loudly advocated burning it to the ground, that the enemy might have nothing of it but its ashes.

"During the first night after the army reached Nashville when the excitement and fury were at the highest pitch and officers and privates were alike influenced by it, it seemed as if the bonds of discipline would be cast off altogether. Crowds of soldiers were mingled with the citizens, who thronged the streets at night and yells, curses, shots sang out on all sides." It was in the midst of such scenes as this that Gen. Floyd arrived at Nashville from Donelson, and Gen. Johnston showed that he, at least, did not find anything to censure in his conduct in that memorable conflict, and plainly intimated the



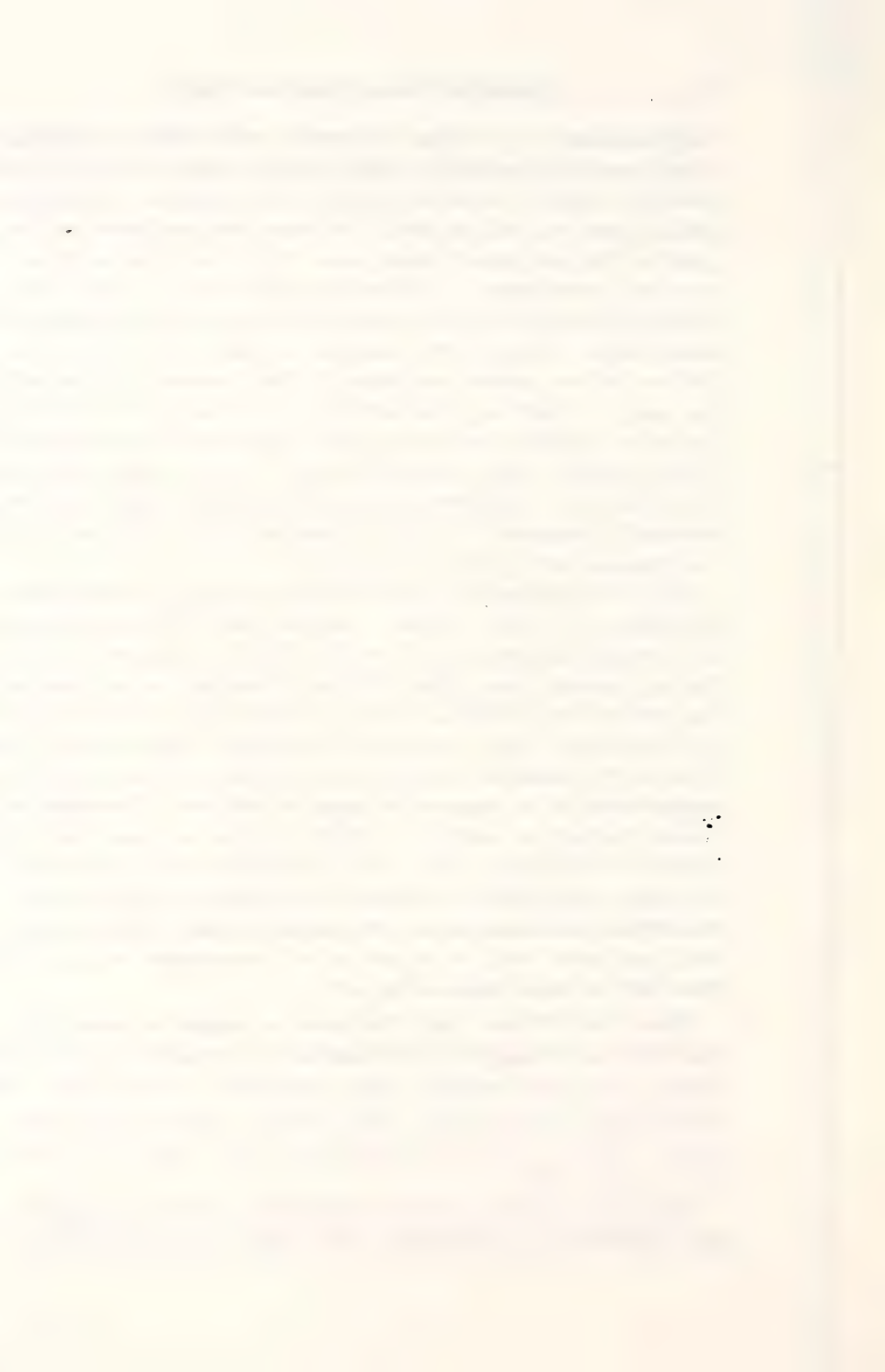


high estimate he put upon his service and ability by placing him in special command at Nashville, and assigning to him the difficult duty of restoring order and discipline, protecting public property and reviving the hopes and confidence of the people. He performed these tasks with wonderful skill, success and promptness. The soldiers were sent to their commands, the people to their homes, the supplies both of food and ammunition left, gathered and put in places of safety. Gen. Duke who was present and saw all that transpired, thus tells the story: "Nothing could have been more admirable than the patience, fortitude and good sense which Gen. Floyd displayed in his arduous and unenviable task. I saw a great deal of him while he was commanding at Nashville, and I was remarkably impressed by him. He was evidently endowed with no common nerve, will and judgment."

While in command at Nashville an incident occurred which exhibited in a very striking manner, the high appreciation and respect the people had for Gen. Floyd. So great was the feeling against Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, on account of his retreat from Bowling Green and the loss of Forts Henry and Donelson, that a large and infuriated mob collected in front of the house he occupied and with threats and every demonstration of a purpose to resort to violence, demanded to know whether he intended to fight or give up them and the country to the enemy. Gen. Floyd, hearing of this, hastened to the place and when his person was recognized and his desire to address them understood, the people listened to him respectfully and such was the effect of his appearance and speech that they at once dispersed quietly.

Floyd and Pillow, tho' the facts in regard to what they had done in turning over the command at Donelson, were well known, were not removed from command 'til the storm of public fury broke on Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and many people believed then and believe now that they were sacrificed to save him.

Having succeeded so well at Nashville, and Chattanooga being considered an important point, Gen. Johnston designated



Gen. Floyd for the command at that place; but just then the order came from President Davis to suspend both Floyd and Pillow from command—on the technical ground that Floyd should not have turned over the command to Pillow, nor Pillow to Buckner.

History records few events equalling in skill, endurance and valor the defense of Fort Donelson. The actual fighting both between the Fort and the gunboats and on land between the troops was in favor of the Confederates, notwithstanding the vast disparity both in number and weight of shot in the cannon with which the fort and boats were respectively armed, and the numbers of the troops engaged.

The gunboats were signally defeated, and after the first day's conflict with the fort, were not able to renew it and appeared no further on the scene, except that two of them were brought up to fire on the fort for the purpose of making a diversion to save the division of McClernand, which had been driven from its position by the Confederates, and was threatened with final defeat. On board the Louisville, which was one of the gunboats, was a northern gentleman who gave this vivid description of the duel with the big guns:

“We were within point blank range and the destruction to our fleet was really terrible. One large solid shot struck our boat just at the angle of the upper deck and pilot-house, perforated the iron plating, passed through the heavy timbers, and buried itself in a pile of hammocks, just in front and in a direct line with the boilers. Another, a shell, raked us from bow to stern, passed through the wheel-house, emerged, dropped and exploded in the river just at our stern. Then a ten-inch solid shot entered our starboard bow-port, demolished a gun carriage, killed three men and wounded four others, traversed the entire length of the boat and sank into the river in our wake. Then a shell came shrieking through the air, striking fair into our forward starboard-port, killing one man, wounding two and then passed off, severing our rudder chains and rendering the boat unmanageable. We were compelled



to drop astern and leave the field of action and so far as we were concerned, the battle was over."

The Pittsburg, the St. Louis, and the Carondelet were also disabled, and, Mr. Hoppin says in his history, that "The Fleet, gathering itself together and rendering mutual help to its disabled members, proceeded to Cairo to repair damages." Commodore Foote, who commanded the fleet, is reported by the same author to "have wept like a child when the order to withdraw was given." In the fighting afterwards, the fleet could, of course, take no active part.

The gunboats gone and unable to return for sometime it is probable that if the Confederates could have been reinforced, they could have held the fort. Great as the resources of the Federals were, they were unequal at that time to a simultaneous attack on Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and Columbus on the Mississippi. Some of their best gunboats were so much disabled that they could not be brought into action for some time. As the situation was, there was not the least danger of any attempt to take Columbus until the operations at Donelson were over. There were ten or twelve thousand effective men at Columbus and there was no reason why many of them should not have been brought to Donelson. They were useless at Columbus and they might have turned the tide at Donelson and enabled the Confederates to repel the attack on that place. The criticism was made on Gen. A. S. Johnston that he did not appreciate the value of concentration and the events of that time would seem to justify this charge. That he made a mistake in selecting Bowling Green as a strategic point and concentrating his force there and expending so much time and labor in fortifying is manifest. That work done at Forts Henry and Donelson would have made them virtually impregnable. On this point, Gen. Buell in a letter to Gen. McClellan, says:

"It is my conviction that all the force that can possibly be collected should be brought to bear on that front of which Columbus and Bowling Green may be said to be the flanks. The center, that is the Cumberland and Tennessee where the





railroad crosses them, is now the most vulnerable point. I regard it as the most important strategical point in the whole field of operations. The possession of it secures their force and gives access through the two rivers to the very center of their power. While they hold it at least two-thirds of the whole force on that point may safely be considered available for any one point that is threatened."

And Gen. Halleck, on 7 February, after the capture of Fort Henry, wrote:

"I think every man not required to defend Green River should be sent to the Tennessee or Cumberland River. We can hold our ground and advance up these rivers. The enemy must abandon Bowling Green; if he does not, he is completely paralyzed. He will concentrate at Dover (Fort Donelson), Clarksville or Paris, or fall back on Nashville. In either case Bowling Green will be of little importance. *He ought to concentrate at Dover (Fort Donelson) and attempt to retake Fort Henry.* It is the only way he can restore an equilibrium. *We should be prepared for this.* If you agree with me, send everything you can spare from Gen. Buell's command or elsewhere. We must hold our own and cut the enemy's lines. I am sending everything I can rake and scrape together from Missouri." These extracts show how in the opinion of these two generals, Gen. A. S. Johnston failed to comprehend the situation or to understand the purposes and tactics of his opponents. He was possessed with the idea of the importance of Bowling Green, until it was too late to do anything else. Halleck's letter shows what efforts were necessary to gather an available force at Henry and Donelson, and how at last they succeeded by concentration, and how Gen. A. S. Johnston failed in his defence for want of it. They show also that there was not the slightest reason to apprehend an attack on Columbus, and that the troops there could have been safely withdrawn and brought to Fort Donelson.

Gen. Floyd's idea was, after the fall of Donelson to make a stand on the line from Cumberland City to Clarksville, and



for the same reason that Gen. Buell gives. And this opinion of Buell only vindicates conspicuously the wisdom and military sagacity of Floyd in selecting that line of defence. Look at the accompanying map and it will be seen that the railroad strikes the Cumberland River at Clarksville and leaves it at Cumberland City and at these two points the Confederate would have the advantage of communication both by rail and water.

When the order for Gen. Floyd's removal was communicated to him, he returned to his home at Abingdon, Va. The people did not incline to regard with satisfaction the action of the Confederate President in depriving two men of command and military position for the cause assigned, fresh as they were from such scenes as were enacted at Fort Donelson. Mr. Davis was regarded as something of a martinet, and this instance rather confirmed the general belief in that respect.

The Legislature of Virginia was then in session and that body showed very promptly its opinion and did not hesitate to exhibit the fact that it put a very different estimate upon Floyd's services and conduct than President Davis seemed to do. They bestowed upon him as high a compliment as ever a State honored one of her sons with. As great as have been the men Virginia produced before the Revolution, during it, and since, no citizen of Virginia ever received a greater mark of confidence and esteem than was tendered Gen. Floyd.

A law was passed creating the office of Major-General, and appointing Gen. Floyd to it. It provided for raising a force of ten thousand men, and gave him entire control of it, and appropriated \$2,500,000 for its equipment and support. I append a copy of the first section of the law.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly that the Governor of this Commonwealth be and he is hereby authorized to commission John B. Floyd a Major General of the State of Virginia, with authority to raise, by voluntary enlistment, a force not exceeding ten thousand men who are not in the service of this State or of the Confederate States, or liable to draft under the Act of Congress, commonly called the 'Conscript





Law'. Approved on the sixteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-two."

But the Confederate authorities interfered with the enlistment of men under this law, on the alleged ground that it might conflict with their operations, and that under the Constitution the Confederate Government had exclusive jurisdiction of all matters pertaining to the war. Before this stand was taken, however, Gen. Floyd had succeeded in assembling and equipping a force large enough to enable him to make an inroad into eastern Kentucky. But his health was now failing him and he no longer had the strength to take the field, and his life of activity was virtually over.

When the election for Congress for the session of 1859-60 was about to take place, the desire of the people of Gen. Floyd's district was almost universal that he should accept the nomination and it was held open for him. They believed that the House of Representatives was the true theater for him, and that his powers of debate, his knowledge of public affairs, his promptness and decision of character, fitted him eminently for a parliamentary leader. But he declined the nomination on the ground that he could not, with honor, abandon the administration at that time.

Gen. Floyd had great gifts, physical and mental. His appearance always commanded attention and whenever he stopped in the street to talk, a crowd soon collected around him. He was an eloquent speaker, and very witty, interesting and instructive in conversation. He was beloved by his family and friends, but like most men of strong character had also bitter enemies. As a Southern man, in the cabinet of a Northern president, when hostilities were about to ensue, he was placed in a position where he could not escape calumny. But when the facts are known it is seen that he acted on that occasion, as on all others, with honor and wisdom.

#### DR. WILLIAM PRESTON FLOYD

was educated at Georgetown College, and became a Catholic in the latter part of his life. He studied law and established



himself at Marion to practice his profession. But law was not to his taste and he soon abandoned it. It was said of him that he was employed by a man to nominate him for the office of constable, then elected by the county courts, and advocate his claims, as it was usual for lawyers to do and that his speech on the occasion was as follows, viz.: "May it please the honorable court I nominate Mr. Arthur Byars for the high and mighty office of constable. I don't know much about him, but I do know that if he is not fit for a constable he is fit for nothing."

After leaving Marion he took a tour through Texas and Mexico, during which he met with several adventures. Stopping one night at a tavern in a little town, he found it already occupied by a set of lawless men, who were disposed to pick quarrels with all strangers. He carried a pistol and a powder flask, and was a man of high, and indeed, reckless courage. Seeing that the party had determined to attack, he very coolly pulled out of his pocket, not his pistol, but his powder flask, and walking to the fireplace said: "Very well, gentlemen, come on and when you do, I will throw this powder flask into the fire and blow you and this shanty to h---l." He at once had the shanty to himself.

In going along the coast of Mexico, in a small vessel, the ship was wrecked and he was thrown alone on the coast near which there happened to be no residents. He suffered great hardships and had no food for several days but finally found his way to a house and obtained relief.

He had a strong inclination to medicine and a natural genius for it, and went to the Medical College of South Carolina, where he graduated, and returning to Virginia, settled at Wytheville, where he practiced with great success. Later in life, he removed to the County of Tazewell, where he died.

He was a man of very bright and original mind and a wonderful capacity for acquiring knowledge and information, tho' he did not seem to be a hard student.



### GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE FLOYD

never studied a profession, but engaged in farming and business. President Tyler appointed him Secretary of Wisconsin Territory, where he remained several years, but ultimately returned to Virginia. He lives now in Logan County, W. Va., to which place he went to attend to mineral and timber property, in which he had considerable interests. He and others opened the Warfield Coal and Salt property on Tug River in Kentucky, but the river proved insufficient for transportation and the undertaking was a failure. When more than sixty years old, he was elected a member of the West Virginia Legislature. He had never even before that time attempted to make a speech. But some question of great public interest being under consideration, he addressed the house on it, and electrified the body and probably astonished himself. His speech produced a great impression and was universally conceded to be a grand oratorical effort. That was the beginning of a new career for him and he is now among the best public speakers in the country. Whenever he is advertised to speak great crowds assemble to hear him. There seems to be something magnetic and inspired in him when he addresses an audience. I never heard him speak, but sensible men who have heard him, say that he excels any other speaker to whom they ever listened. He is a Catholic.

### BENJAMIN RUSH FLOYD

was educated at Georgetown, where he graduated with great distinction and where he is still remembered and spoken of as the best pupil ever at the college. After his graduation, he took a tour through the Southern States and returning to Virginia, obtained a license to practice law, and settled in Wytheville, Va. He had great success from the very beginning and soon became, what is not very common at the bar, a learned and profound lawyer, of great logical force and an eloquent advocate before a jury.





In the year 1857 he was elected to the Legislature of Virginia from Wythe county and the single session he served was one of the most important that ever assembled in Virginia, and consequences have resulted from it not fully foreseen then, but of the highest interest to the people.

The citizens of the western part of the State had a country of great natural resources and wealth, but it was rendered comparatively useless for want of water transportation or railroads. They had been struggling for years to get bills passed, but without success, which would be the means of opening up their country, being always met by a united east, which then had a majority in the General Assembly. The eastern men said that their region had no use for railroads, for it had the Atlantic Ocean, Chesapeake Bay, and was full of navigable rivers, and as nearly all the negroes in the State were in the east, and the money to build railroads would have to be largely raised by a tax on them, they saw no reason why they should be taxed to build roads somewhere else. The most prominent of the men who advanced these arguments was a member who was elected year after year, for the express purpose of defeating all appropriations of public money for internal improvements. At the session of which Col. Floyd was a member, the final struggle on this question was made. Some of the eastern men came to the assistance of the west, notably Joseph Segar, and with their aid, the west triumphed. Two important railroad bills were up for consideration—one for a road from Richmond to Danville, and one for a road from Lynchburg to the Tennessee line. The Danville Road bill was introduced and championed by Whitewall P. Tunstall, who represented Pittsylvania county. He prepared his speech with great labor and care and when he made it, took occasion to appeal personally to the member from Wythe “to raise his powerful voice in support of the measure”—an appeal to which Col. Floyd responded two or three days afterwards. While speaking, he was interrupted several times by the member mentioned above, who only reiterated the same arguments he had been using for years past. But Col. Floyd described in a very full and ef-



fective manner the vast wealth in the west, now locked up and worthless for the want of a road, and declared that so far from imposing burdens on the people of the east, it would in the end lighten them, because it would so much increase the value of taxable property, which now yielded little or no revenue, that it would enable the Legislature to remit some of the taxes on the negroes, as to which the people of the east were so sensitive.

Then he went on to say that the position of the gentleman and his friends was but a very selfish one. "He opposes any help to us, because, when he has a call to see a patient, all he has to do, is to throw his saddlebags into a canoe, and let a negro upon whom he is so much afraid of an annual tax of ten cents to help his neighbors, paddle him off to pay his visit."

Up to the year 1850, representation was very unevenly distributed in Virginia—the east having more than its just share, and under the Constitution, the Legislature elected the Governor and the judges, and the right to vote was restricted to free-holders and housekeepers and heads of families who had paid their taxes. It was under this constitution that the east has so long maintained its control, tho' it had less than a majority of the people of the State, and the west determined to reform it, if possible. The contest was important and interesting, because it was to decide whether the supremacy should remain in the east or be transferred to the west, and because it involved the question of universal suffrage or what was then called, "manhood suffrage." It was not for a mere change of the form of government for convenience only, but a change of the principles upon which the constitution should be constructed.

The State was arranged in districts for the purpose of electing delegates to the convention—the counties of Wythe, Smyth and Washington constituting one district and entitled to three delegates. The leading men and best speakers in the district became candidates—James W. Shetfey, Connally F. Trigg and Andrew S. Fulton, all Whigs, were in favor of adhering to the constitution and stood opposed to any extension of the right





of suffrage. The Democrats were Ben Rush Floyd, Thomas M. Tate and George W. Hopkins, and they favored manhood suffrage and advocated the placing of the entire State government on a more Democratic basis. All the candidates were able speakers, except Tate, who tho' a man of excellent sense, never spoke in public.

The Democrats were elected, Col. Floyd leading in the vote, as he had done in the canvass. He made one point in his speeches which always made an impression and even at this distance of time, it is fresh in my memory. He said:

"An election for members of the General Assembly is going on. A man approaches the polls to tender his vote. As he walks along he is soon to have but one arm and to be old, weary and feeble. He is a soldier, a soldier of the War of 1812, who endured the horrors of the pest house at Norfolk and lost his arm in a fight with the enemy. Or he may be a hero of the Revolution, who has been permitted to pass the three score and ten years allotted to man. But, whichever he is, he is an honest and respected citizen and has all his life taken an interest in public affairs. The officers conducting the election ask him, Are you a freeholder? He shakes his head; "Are you a housekeeper and head of a family?" "Yes, me and my old woman live over on Cripple Creek." "Have you paid your taxes for this year?" Another shake of the head. "Can you pay them now?" He runs his one hand into his pocket, and finding it empty, walks away without saying a word. And so the law now is. The man who volunteered to fight for his country and was so wounded as to force him to live for more than half a century a life of hardship and poverty, is denied the privilege and right of voting, for the men who are to make laws to govern him."

This, told as Col. Floyd told it, always carried away the audience, but returned, as I shall relate farther on, to plague the inventor.

Col. Floyd became a candidate for the judgeship in his district, but he had then been baptized and the fact that he was



a Catholic was used against him. A gentleman named Pepper addressed a letter to him on the subject, and I cannot better illustrate his high qualities and great abilities than by publishing Mr. Pepper's letter and his reply, which I append in full:

“Locust Grove,  
Montgomery County, Va., Feb. 14, 1852.

Mr. B. R. Floyd: Dear Sir—As I understand that you are a candidate for the office of Circuit Court judge for this district, I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines on the subject. There is a report in circulation in this county that you are a Roman Catholic in religion, which I find will have a very bad effect on your election, unless you can clear it up to the satisfaction of the people, as they say that one of the tenets of the Catholic doctrine is, that you may do what you please, and the priest will forgive their sins for a few dollars. Now, my dear sir, if you can satisfy the people on this subject, please to let me know, that I may contradict the report in time; and come to the Montgomery court as soon as suits your convenience, and then you can give a full explanation of the matter. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. PEPPER”.

Wythe C. H., Feb. 20, 1852.

J. Pepper, Esq.; Dear Sir—I received yours of the 14th a day or two since, and take this my earliest opportunity of replying to it. I hope you will pardon the manner I have adopted. My apology is that it will suit as an answer to the many letters I have received on the subject. I feel grateful for the kindness you have manifested in affording me the opportunity to notice the objection which has been so actively circulated against me. I had hoped the day of religious intolerance and persecution had passed, especially in Virginia, which was the first to proclaim religious liberty upon her statute book. It was a son of the Old Dominion who announced that the true qualification for office was embraced in these few words: “Is he honest? is he capable? is he faithful to the



Constitution?" All America would have denounced the sentiment if he had added: "Is he of the true religion?"

When I returned from the Convention many kind friends insisted upon my permitting my name to be used in connection with the office of judge of this circuit. I consented and was announced as a candidate. My prospects for success were flattering as my friends desired, until those opposed to me fell upon the expedient of making the election turn upon the fact that I was a member of the Catholic Church. It is the first time within my knowledge since the foundation of this government (and I sincerely hope it will be the last) that any citizen has been assailed for his religious opinions. Many of those who used it against me care but little for the consequences, if I can be defeated. Thus, my dear sir, you have no doubt heard many persons denounce my faith who were destitute of all Christian belief. You have also, no doubt, heard me assailed by really good-meaning and pious men, who can reconcile their conscience to open atheism, but cannot forgive the sin of Catholicity.

The first class of opponents are oily politicians who care not a fig for principle, but are hungering after the flesh pots. The second are condemning what they never examined; and a moment's reflection, it seems to me, ought to set them right upon so vital a question to the liberties of the people as that of "religious freedom." To such men I would ask a single question. If they were the candidates and I the voter would it be right in me to vote against them upon the ground of their religious belief alone? If any one could answer that interrogative in the affirmative, I could only pity his bigotry—or deplore his folly. The great danger, however, to be apprehended in requiring candidates to conform to any religious creed is, that conscientious men will be driven from office, and the unscrupulous hypocrite will be installed into the high places within the gift of the people. The man of seven principles—"five loaves and two fishes"—will rarely be ejected from office if it can be retained by the profession of any creed in the endless catalogue of Christian denominations.





The rule, it seems, is now to be that any one who professes the Catholic religion is unfit to hold office, is to be ostracised by his fellow-citizens and become the victim of a religious persecution! It will be a sad day for the country when religious toleration and the inestimable blessing of religious freedom is to be destroyed; when a religious test is regarded as a necessary qualification for office. The great American principle—the Jefferson rule—that which more than all other things distinguishes our form of government from all others, is the principle of religious freedom.

If the late convention had inserted a clause in the new constitution authorizing the legislators to declare a State religion, is there one man within the borders of the commonwealth who would have so far have forgotten the dignity of a freeman to have voted for it? There is but very little difference between proclaiming it by statute and enforcing it at the polls. I can perceive none but that those who would enforce it at the polls would be afraid to propose it in the halls of the legislature.

In becoming a member of the Catholic Church I have but done that which every other citizen who professes to be a member of any other Christian denomination has done, or ought to have done—exercised my own reason and pursued the dictates of my own conscience. For that I am answerable to God alone. Who is it undertakes to usurp the prerogatives of the Most High and condemn me? Am I responsible to any power but that which created me? If not, then no man has a right to thrust himself between me and my conscience—for it is a matter not for this, but “another and a better world.”

To exclude me from office does not settle the question of the truth or falsehood of my belief. The people may pronounce the stern sentence, “Never more be officer of mine,” still the question is not settled. Can such a question be settled by vote of the people? If not, why agitate it?

In my judgment every man in the district is interested in denouncing the principle of requiring a religious test. If a



Catholic is not to hold office, what shall be the religion of our officers? Shall they be Puritans, or Methodists, or Baptists—what religion may qualify them for office? At last it will be the creed of that denomination which is strongest! Then what will become of the great principle of religious freedom? The candidate must profess opinions he may not believe; the hypocrite will assume the sanctity of the saint, and the most unscrupulous knave will be the most honored by the voice of the people! For myself, I cannot consent to be made a party to the establishment of any such principle. I have preferred to withdraw my name from the canvass rather than seek or accept office on the terms it is now proposed to confer the judgeship of this circuit.

You say, "They say that one of the tenets of the Catholic doctrine is 'that they may do what they please and the priest will forgive their sins for a few dollars!'"

Do you suppose any of your neighbors who seriously think that such is one of the tenets of the Catholic Christian could be induced to believe such a piece of ridiculous nonsense? If not, does he suppose a Catholic would be more easily imposed upon than himself? It would be no small degree of self-delusion to suppose that Catholics are less informed or more bereft of common sense than other persons. I am surprised, therefore, that any person, however low in the scale of ordinary intelligence, would be so credulous as to suppose any Christian would believe such trifles.

I know in this money-seeking, money-loving age the triumph of the "almighty dollar" has been shouted from Maine to California; but however potent it may be to buy golden opinions or gild vice amongst men, I did not imagine that even the "father of lies would attempt to buy forgiveness of sin from the Almighty, whose province alone it is to forgive our transgressions. I cannot conceive a sentiment more detestable or less calculated to impose upon any one who for a moment would think of its folly. If you will just turn to the eighth chapter of the Acts, nineteenth and twentieth verses, you will see what a Catholic thinks of the attempt to





purchase the gifts of God with money: "May thy money perish with thee, because thou hast esteemed the gift of God to be purchased with money." The very thought of such an iniquity condemned the criminal!

This is only one of a hundred similar stories, equally groundless, equally ridiculous, which are daily circulated of the Catholic religion. Nothing seems too absurd to find some one to credit it. Really there appears to be a high order of imaginative talent necessary to invent all the varied and fantastic tales that are daily circulated with bated breath and mysterious grimaces, as another and recent discovery of the abominations of Popery! And what surprises me more than all this is the fact that no one ever examines for himself what is and what is not Catholic doctrine. It is to condemn without trial and to execute without mercy! In listening to and giving credence to all this ridiculous array of absurdities, persons forget or seem to forget that multitudes of the wisest, best and greatest men of the world have been members of the Catholic church—they forget that Lafayette, at the head of a Catholic army stood side by side with Washington and his patriot troops and drove the Protestant army of England from the soil of Virginia; they forget that a more upright, just or learned jurist never graced the American bench than the present amiable and pious Catholic chief justice of the United States. A man who holds his office by the appointment of Jackson and the confirmation of the American Senate—they forget that these facts are wholly incompatible with the absurdities attributed to Catholics. I have said more on this subject than I had intended when I commenced this reply; but the magnitude of the principle must be my apology. I care nothing for office, certainly for none which can only be obtained on the terms of adhering to any church whatever. But as a Virginian, as a man who is free and wishes to remain so, I denounce this attempt to add a new, unjust, and dangerous element to the excitements and passions of popular elections. As we are starting on a career of popular supremacy, it is all important that we should lay down



a correct chart, by which we are hereafter to be guided. Such a rock as this in the sea of popular excitement will wreck the vessel of "Popular Freedom," because it is the sure precursor of church government. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. RUSH FLOYD.

In the spring of 1858, the Democratic congressional convention for that district nominated Colonel Floyd for Congress. The Democrats had a majority in the district, but Elbert S. Martin, of Lee county, who claimed to be a Democrat, and was a member of a large and influential family, announced himself as an independent candidate. The entire Whig party, anxious, of course, to defeat the nominee of their political opponents, supported Martin, and he was elected.

Several things besides this division in the party contributed to this result. The Catholic question was not brought openly into the contest, but, no doubt, it cost Colonel Floyd some votes, as did also another thing which was discussed on the hustings. The previous Congress had passed a law giving pensions to soldiers of the war of 1812, which President Buchanan vetoed; being supported in the veto by his cabinet, of which John B. Floyd was one. The grounds of objection made by the President were—the large sums that would be taken from the treasury to pay the pensions and the danger of frauds upon the government. The bill and the veto produced much excitement both in Congress and throughout the country, and Governor Floyd was so much persuaded that it would be an issue in the next presidential election that he made Colonel Floyd so far a convert to his views as to induce him to introduce the subject in his speeches and defend the administration. But pensions are always popular and the people are not inclined to object to expend money for that purpose. They favored, as a rule, the pension bill, and it was in this canvass that Colonel Floyd's "old soldier" appeared on the scene, but, this time, much to his disadvantage.



An old gentleman named Jacob Merchant (to whom I was much indebted, for he saved my life on one occasion) then lived in Abingdon. He was a Whig and the warm personal friend both of A. S. Fulton and Connally F. Trigg. He had not forgotten their defeat by Colonel Floyd, nor as the event showed, had he forgotten the effect, which his reference to the "old soldier" always produced. Colonel Floyd was making a speech in the courthouse at Abingdon and was discussing the pension bill; when Merchant, who had by some means or other, got hold of an old one-armed man who was either a soldier in fact, or passed for one, appeared on the scene, leading the old man, and interrupted the speech, in a voice heard not only all over the room, but out on the street, with this question, "here's your old one-armed soldier. Ain't you in favor of giving him a pension?" The whole thing flashed at once through Colonel Floyd's mind and he was able to make no reply.

Colonel Floyd was suddenly attacked at the home of his brother, John B. Floyd, in Washington county, by a spasm of the heart and died before either a priest or a doctor could reach him.

I have always regarded him as the most perfect man I ever knew. He possessed real beauty of person and dignity of bearing, and his manners had a courtesy, a charm, and a sweet kindness I never saw equalled in any one else.





## VIRGINIA AND TEXAS, 1844.

Virginia's attitude toward Texas in 1844, as it affected her choice of presidential candidates and her political alliances, has been a subject of dispute and conjecture. Before that time the Democratic organization, led by Ritchie, Roane, Stevenson, McDowell, T. J. Randolph, and others, had remained loyal to Van Buren in both victory and defeat, and in 1844 it had again selected a delegation to the Baltimore Convention instructed to vote for their favorite for a third nomination for the presidency. Nevertheless, they waited with anxiety, and even impatience, to learn Van Buren's attitude toward the proposed annexation of Texas to statehood in the American Union. Both he and Clay, the candidate of the Whig party for the presidency, had been interrogated on that all important question. When their answers came they were each found to be against immediate annexation. The manner in which the Democratic organization of Virginia repudiated Van Buren upon receiving this information has led to charges of treachery upon its part. Indeed, the charge has been made that it was in a "plot" with the Calhoun faction of the Democratic party to overthrow Van Buren. The fact that Jackson's famous letter favoring the annexation of Texas first appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* one year after it had been written and shortly before Van Buren's repudiation has given credence to the charges of disloyalty on the part of the Democratic organization of Virginia to its national chieftain.

However condemning the evidence may seem there is no doubt that the Democratic organization in Virginia acted patriotically and reluctantly in deserting Van Buren. His letter on Texas reached Richmond on April 30, 1844, when the Democrats were receiving news from all directions of their defeat in the local elections. On the following afternoon they met on Shockoe Hill and publicly and positively repudiated Van Buren. At the same time the party was called upon to recon-



sider its instructions to the delegates to the Baltimore Convention and to send only such delegates as would vote for a candidate for the presidency who was for the immediate annexation of Texas. With them the desire for Texas had become a mania. Five days after the meeting on Shockey Hill Ritchie wrote Van Buren a long personal letter and sent him therewith a number of private letters to explain the conditions in Virginia and why Van Buren could not receive its electoral vote. Ritchie's letter can be found in the *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, III. p. 250, but the letters which he sent to Van Buren, which, by the way, were returned without comment, together with other letters which Ritchie received from time to time during the months of April and May, 1844, are here published as giving the best obtainable information regarding Virginia's attitude on the annexation of Texas.—Editor.

AUSTIN BROCKENBROUGH TO THOMAS RITCHIE.  
(Confidential.)

April 21, 1844.

Dear Sir,

Permit me to apprise you of what I conceive to be the true feeling of the people in some of these lower counties, namely K & Queen, K. Wm., Middlesex, Essex, Lancaster & Richmond. The Democratic party will not be strenuous & warmly united in favor of Van Buren, even if he is the nominee of the Balt. Convention. In that event should he not advocate *unhesitatingly* the annexation of Texas his vote will be nothing. They now regret his being before the public, saying they have already worked for him & owe him nothing, & with difficulty can stomach the odium thrown on him by the Whigs in 1840. They wish for a new man.

These sentiments I have ascertained some time since but have been confirmed in these impressions during the meeting of the Convention of this Cong. district. As Chairman of that meeting I did all I could to send *Vans* warmest friends to Balt.—the current set strong for a new man Calhoun, Cass,





Buchanan, or even Tyler. We battle it upon principle without daring as yet to mention the Candidate. After a desperate struggle I apprehend we shall lose the county as heretofore for the last 12 or 14 years. Six months more to play the Whig game back upon them (that of fictitious deeds) we should gain the victory.

After the election I am promised subscribers to the Sentinel.

In haste wh. best wishes yrs,

AUSTIN BROCKENBROUGH.

William Byars to Thomas Ritchie.

Brook Hall (Washington County) Va.

April 27 1844.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to tell you we have lost Wythe. A Fulton Fed has beaten Cleaves Demo five votes & it is unpleasant to me to say to you that it is uphill business to get along with our expected candidate. I am aware of the danger in changing generals in the time of battle unless the one engaged is willing to withdraw. I am and have been a Van Buren man & I am yet one if I thought we had a chance of Success. This is a time among friends that nothing should be disguised if v is the nominee I am fearful we shall be defeated. The people can not be excited under the present expectation of v being the candidate. I know several that have heretofore gone with the Whigs that appear to be determined not to vote in the fall & I have heard some democrats say they did not know if they would vote. I am of the opinion that we should gain strength if we had some other candidate & if it was not for R. M. J private course heretofore he would be the strongest man but Cass or Buchanan either would be stronger than v. I have come to this conclusion from having an opportunity of seeing people from many parts of the country & one uniform opinion that we are to be beaten. I presume you are not apprised of the opinion of the mass of the people unless it is from private Communications. The prejudis aroused in the minds of the



people in 1840 can not be removed. I am aware of its being impolitic to make the opinions I have given public. I have spoken in this Frank language to you as you have the opportunity to be more useful than any other friend if any advantage could be had in our course.

I should be pleased to hear what your private opinions are on my suggestions. I am respectfully yours etc

WM. BYARS.

James Hoge to the Central Democratic Committee.

Pulaski County, May 3, 1844.

I have thus delayed in answering yours of the 13th. Feb. last covering an extract from the Journal of the Democratic Convention which nominated me as an Elector of the party for the 13th. district 1st owing to my absence from home until near the 1st of April and after my return home I have waited thinking I might be able when I did write to give you some information respecting our prospects, and believing that you had no fears of my willingness to fulfill *Strictly* to the best of my abilities the expectations of the Convention who conferred the *Unsought* for honor. I shall endeavor to do my duty and am willing to support the nominee of the Baltimore Convention against Henry Clay or whoever is run by the Whig party.

I will now proceed to fulfill what I consider a duty I owe you, the Party & my Country. I expect Ere this has reached you, you will have heard of our defeat in the Election in Montgomery & this County & the adjoining Counties, Wythe, Floyd, & Giles & Mercer. Our defeat here was not surprising, but that of Wythe, Floyd, & Giles & Mercer came like a Clap of thunder in a clear day. I suppose you contemplate the cause when you know that the enemy Fights with the same weapons that were so effective in the campaign of 1840; will we not be compelled to change our front, candor compells me to say that I believe that if we do not defeat is inevitable. What are the parties in this country Is it not the Democrat party, *proper*, (Jeffersonian Republicans) The Whig party



*proper* (Hamilton Federalists) and a floating party equal to either if not as strong as both. The Democratic party by force of truth & reason have heretofore been generally able to carry a sufficient number of the floating party as to keep in the ascendancy. But in 1840 we were defeated, not by force of reason & truth, but by Slang, Mummeries, Songs, &, & when it were generally expected that their favorite Harry of the (West) was to be the candidate, he the said Harry was laid on the shelf, for the time being, & a more available selected, *Genl Harrison* whose Politics, if he had any were unknown to the people, and but little known Except that he commanded at the Battle of the Thames & at Tippecanoe. Then with rush accompanied with Slang Mummeries, Songs &, and unsurpassing in their abuse of Martin Van Buren &, they succeeded in electing their Hero of the Thames & Tippecanoe, who I have no doubt was to be the forerunner to prepare the way for this Same Harry of the West. They have got the floating party arrayed against Martin Van Buren & I fear they can be generally transferred to the Support, at this time of any Individual who may be opposed to Van Buren for the Presidency. Martin Van Buren is my first choice for President. But I am compelled against my will to believe that at this time he cannot be elected, & he is so far as I have been able to ascertain, the choice of a large portion of the Democratic party *proper*. But with nearly all that I hear speak their Sentiments here, & else where, it is that he is not the available candidate *at this time* & if he is the nominee we will be defeated. The Convention ought to select the most available candidate, one who is most likely to take with the floating party. Be it who it may, we profess to go for Principles & not for men, if we select Martin Van Buren as our candidate & are defeated. *Personally* we do him much greater injury than if we selected some other individual as the candidate of the party. Therefore lets go for the most available. I wish the Convention to do so. I am informed that Richard M Johnson is at least one of the strongest men that could be run in Pennsylvania. He might probably defeat Henry Clay in





Kentucky. He has great strength every where. (He killed Decumsey, He bears the marks of wounds won in defence of his country & of the people). With him for candidate we would be freed from acting everlastingly in the defensive, we would have time to charge on the enemy who is vulnerable in many points. it would release those who voted for Genl Harrison against Martin Van Buren from the fear of the charge of inconsistency. It would be a contest with new candidates. the floating party would be free to make their own selection. They could no longer be told you voted with us against Van Buren will you now desert & go over to the enemy & vote for Old Van &. We have no time to delay Let us gird on our armour and be ready for action under whatever leader that the Baltimore Convention may select.

Most Respectfully

Yours & & &.,

JAS. HOGE.

R. J. POULSON TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Onancock May 3rd 1844

Thomas Ritchie Esq

Dr. Sir, The result of our election has no doubt been transmitted to you ere this by other pens; and my object at this time is not so much to give you that result as to speculate on the causes which produced it. It was unquestionably the strictest party vote ever given in the county. I may say the only party vote ever given since my recollection of such things. Scarbrough's withdrawal no doubt lost us some votes and abated in some measure the zeal of some personal friends, but on the whole did not materially vary the result. The chief cause of our disaster was the weight of Mr Van Buren's name. Avoid it as we might in public discussions, it was nevertheless secretly used to our disadvantage and hundreds of votes polled for us cannot be given to him. The same was done in Northampton I have been informed. With Mr Calhoun or even Tyler we might divide the shore but with Mr. Van Buren I do not think the result would vary much from



that of '40. Our vote would not be larger but the Whig vote would be less. I deem it due to make this statement before the meeting of the Balto. Convention, that in calculating chances you should possess all the information necessary to correct conclusions.

In our county Pitts vote was increased about 25 by Demo. votes on the Whig Poll. We intend for our own satisfaction to have an examination of the poll books at the precincts in connection with the Land roll and sheriff's books to ascertain as nearly as practicable the exact number and to protect us in future. It was the largest vote ever polled in this county since my recollection—larger than in '40.

As the next Presidential Election will be a most exciting one, eliciting much debate and controversy, I have been seriously debating with myself the propriety of yielding my post as Elector to one more capable of discharging such offices. Not from want of attachment to the cause or lack of zeal, but from the simple reason that I know myself inadequate to the duties which the times will and do require of one occupying that station. I have as yet mentioned it to no one, but shall consult with some of my friends and determine in 10 or 12 days.

Clay is very decided against the admission of Texas; I hope our candidate will be equally explicit in its favor, though I have very little hope of the success of the measure with our present U. S. Senate. What will the Virginia Senators do in the premises? Something to kill both I most devoutly pray if it be no injury to the country. I have scrawled this in haste and in pain for my teeth are all ajar from cold.

Resply. yr. frd.

R. J. POULSON.

T. J. RANDOLPH TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Edgehill, May 4, 1844.

Dear Sir,

I had intended to have written to you as soon as full returns of the elections were received but receiving you mess-





age by Dr. Gooch I proceed at once to give my views circumscribed and limited as they are unavoidably by my position.

When Mr. Van Buren was elected in 1836 I was surprised and mortified at the evidences which his vote gave of his want of popularity. His administration encountered at its commencement before it could gain strength by time & the wisdom of his councils, financial difficulties, arising out of the suspension of the banks and the disapprobation by many of his warmest supporters of his leading measures. Added to this his continuance in office of General Jackson's Cabinet, disappointing the aspirations of prominent politicians, adopting with his Cabinet the odium of every unpopular act, while to General Jackson alone would be attributed all that were otherwise. Broke down a popularity originally feeble and caused our defeat in 1840. Nor does it appear that the mad career of the Whig party during their brief period of power have at all reconciled the people to him, but on the contrary holding him up as our candidate is driving them daily into the support of Mr. Clay Bank Tariff and all his odious measures. Under these circumstances have not the resolutions of your association given him the "last degree." Of the 665 Democratic votes polled in our recent county election, a portion of them will go for Mr. Clay in the fall and another portion will be beaten. These facts I have of my own knowledge, having canvassed the county as closely as either of the candidates and receiving the information from the voters themselves. As delegate elect to the Baltimore Convention, I am constantly applied to by men who have been and are still the warmest friends of Mr. Van Buren and now prefer him to every other individual, to endeavor to procure the nomination of some more available candidate. We are prepared to take up any good and true man that is more available or retain Mr. Van Buren if the majority of our party requires it against our judgment, hoping that his availability is better every where else.

Blair has attacked Mr. Calhoun about his correspondence pending the Texas treaty; this attack I most unqualifiedly



deprecate and condemn as unjust and unwise, but will not Mr. Calhoun's other doctrines, as said to be developed in that correspondence, offend our Democratic brethren in the free States without determining whether these doctrines are correct or otherwise? Are they at all fitted to the present state of public opinion and has he not by this placed himself out of the list of availables. I should apprehend he had at least much weakened himself. If Mr Van Buren is to be dropped would it not give less offence to do it in consequence of his want of availability than the Texas question? Might we not lose to the North as much as we gained South, and is there any necessity for assigning that reason. It can be used more fully in the canvass—South and West in favor of any candidate.

Buchanan's vote on the Tariff has materially injured him. Johnson is hard to stomach. We might have a rowdy rabble right and probably successful one with him, but would it not be a victory without fruits. of Cass I don't know enough to pronounce an opinion, but if he is not very objectionable upon any leading principles it has occurred to me that he could be our best chance. He certainly has capacity and integrity and his absence from the country during the exciting times of Jackson's administration has exposed him less to prejudices than others. I was told winter before last he would vote stronger in western Virginia than Van Buren.

With the lights before me I am decidedly of the opinion we shall lose Virginia and the Union with Van Buren as our candidate. The occasion will test the patriotism of our party, whether they prefer men to principles. We must surrender our predilections for individuals and go for the cause and the country—never has it been more in danger. If Mr. Clay succeeds a national Bank is certain: if the whigs retain their power so as to elect another Whig President at the end of his term, dissolution of the Union is more than probable. The Constitution is our only legitimate bond of Union, and if that is annihilated as it is avowedly threatened to be by the Whig party. It cannot be expected that the whole people will consent to an entire change of the principles of our government.



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and that the government designed to be one of limited delegated powers should become one without limitations save the will of the majority.

I have ever been an unwavering supporter of Mr Van Buren personally attached to the man and cordially approving his measures and in the main agree with him in his views on the Texas question, going for annexation when it can be done consistently with good faith to Mexico. But you may probably have forgotten my telling you in the spring of 1842, from what I had observed in that canvass that his prospects were unfavorable. This opinion was strengthened in the canvass of 1843, and is now confirmed. Nor does it appear from the returns generally that he is stronger in other parts of the State. I feel myself wholly uncommitted in the Convention.

If we are to change our front we must endeavor to do it as harmoniously as possible. The only question should be availability capacity and principles, take the best combination of them to be had. When Mr Van Buren's friends surrender him, they have a right to expect that the friends of other gentlemen should not over zealously press them. Give us a fair nomination without combination bargain or intrigue, let us go before the people with our candidate with clean consciences and clean hands, and we may hope for the best.

With the highest esteem yours,

T. J. RANDOLPH.

JAMES McDOWELL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AT RICHMOND.

Fincastle, May 6th, 1844.

Gentlemen

In consequence of the late unexpected and extraordinary declaration of the Sentiments of Martin Van Buren, in his letter to Mr. Hammett of Mississippi on the annexation of Texas, I have been requested by many of our Democratic friends in this county to address you on the subject of the Selection of some other candidate for the Presidency at the Baltimore Convention who can be supported by the Democratic



party of Va. without the same sacrifice of principle and feeling that we will *now* have to make if we should take up Mr. Van Buren, and to invoke your powerful aid in the selection of such a candidate. When I had the pleasure of addressing your chairman on the day after our late election, I assured him that Botetourt County would give a majority for the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, ranging from 200 to 250, and at that time Mr. Van Buren was the *unanimous* choice of the Democracy of the county, but "*alas how are the mighty fallen,*" there is not a man here *now* "*so poor as to do him reverence,*" since he has yielded to the abolition influence on a question (as we think) of such vital importance to the whole South, and should our party presume in forcing him on us, he will *unquestionably* be beaten here by a large majority. Although he was my first choice for the Presidency, and has never had (as many of you know) a more zealous advocate than I have been, yet I now feel bound to say that he never had any personal popularity here independent of what his support of the principles of his *illustrious* predecessor gave him, and since he has thought proper to differ with that illustrious man on a question that so seriously affects our interests, after the many hard battles that we fought and won for him, we must leave him to his fate and march to victory under the banners of some other chieftain.

"Measures—not men" has been our motto, and we are determined *not to change it*, even for the man who stood higher in our estimation than all others until he deserted us on the most important question that can be possibly agitated during the next Presidential term. The Whigs of Botetourt are, generally, so infatuated with Henry Clay that they would vote for him, I verily believe, if he declared himself a full blooded abolitionist, but the Democracy of the county is not composed of such pliant materials, and hence the necessity for giving them a candidate who is the reverse of Mr. Clay in all things. For either Cass, Calhoun, Johnson, Buchanan, Stewart or even *John Tyler* who may be with us thoroughly on the Texas question, and all the *other important questions* that divide the





Whig and Democratic parties, we can still promise you a majority of 200 or upwards in old Botetourt, as I know of several independent Whigs who will go with us for a *Texas man*, but for Mr. Van Buren I can promise you nothing, but defeat, at the fall election, and the total prostration of our party here forever, as all the leading men of our party are committed against him, and as a matter of course can take no active part in the canvass, while the '*rank and file*' of the Democracy, if left to the tender mercies of the Whigs, will be cajoled into their ranks and will continue to be good Whigs ever afterwards.

Permit, me, therefore, gentlemen, to request, in behalf of the Democracy of this county, that you will interpose your good offices in uniting the friends of the other gentlemen who have been named as candidates for the Presidency, on some one of them who is sound on the *Texas question*, and, if you succeed, I will pledge myself to attend the Baltimore Convention, as a delegate, and vote for whatever *Texas man* may be selected by the Virginia delegation.

As the time for action has arrived, I will thank you for an early reply to this hasty letter, and, in the meantime, I beg leave to assure you, Gentleman, of the high regard and esteem of

Your ob't servant,

JAMES McDOWELL.

W. M. WATKINS TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Charlotte, May 7th, 1844.

Dear Sir,

I address you individually instead of the Enquirer because what I am about to write is intended only for your own reflection.

The Texas question as you may suppose has excited a great deal of interest in the Country. Previous to Mr. Van Buren's & Mr. Clay's Communications I had thought there was much unanimity among us on the subject. Since their publication



the aspect of things has changed & yesterday being our court day, I had a good opportunity of noticing their effect upon the public mind. It is of this principally I wish to inform you. The Whigs now, though unwilling to commit themselves against annexation, are using all of Mr. Clay's arguments against it & strengthen themselves by reference to Mr. Van Buren's opinions, & will evidently continue their support of Mr. Clay. I speak of the leadres' stalking men of the party. It remains to be sen how many of the plain men of the party will go with them. On the contrary the republicans are disappointed, chagrined & indignant at Mr. Van Buren's Course, and are ready, if they have not already so determined, to abandon him. My conclusion then is, that Mr. Van Buren now stands no chance to get the vote of Virginia in the ensuing presidential election. I judge of other parts of the State from appearances, not to be mistaken in our county. You know the difficulty we have had to encounter in his support & that by it we have lost many of our party. We had strengthened ourselves since 1840 & obtained the complete ascendancy in the State, and again, since the presidential canvas, we have lost much ground, if not conquered. How, now that Mr. Van Buren has taken sides against our party in this State on a subject of such vast interest & in the eyes of many sinking all other issues before the country, is it to be expected he can get the vote of the State. Who ever dreams of it will be surely disappointed.

When I commenced writing I merely intended to give you information of the present state of political feeling in this county. As my hand is in I will proceed to say, inter nos, that I have thought for some time past & am now almost confirmed in the opinion that the republican party (so called) in the United States is in a worse condition than I have ever known it & is in danger of being entirely overthrown. We have had divisions as to presidential candidates which have greatly distracted it, but as this related to men, they might have been healed. Division in principles cannot be. How then can abolition democrats, Bank democrats tariff democrats, & we





shall shortly have in the free states Ante Texas democrats, unite with the pure republican party when any of their views or interests come in contact with those of the party? To be understood, how is it expected that the great State of Pennsylvania will support a revenue tariff Candidate for the presidency when from what I see & hear at least one half of her democrats are protective tariff men? On the contrary, how is it to be expected that a protective tariff Candidate (say Mr. Buchanan who must have iron & coal protected) will be supported by the revenue tariff men? As to the tariff he would be as objectionable as Mr. Clay for it is by a combination of interests that all high tariffs have been laid. The Sugar maker, the Cloth maker, the Salt maker, etc have an equal right to ask it with the Iron maker & Coal raiser, and it is by a combination of these & similar interests that protection is effected.

I am gloomy as you will perceive & made much more so by recent developments. When such men as Webster, or Galatin supported by a large assembly, declare that hereafter no more slave holding states are to be admitted into the Union, how can an old man whose fondest hopes of the perpetuity of liberty rested on the Union of the States & the Sovereignty States as essential to it, be otherwise than gloomy? Don't say for my comfort, as some of my Whig friends say, that these are but two men. Straws indeed suffice to show the direction of the wind, but it is the bending of the oak, the giants of the woods, that shows its force & power. These men are giants & their bow is "potential." Unite with these declarations the abolition agitation & the Massachusetts Association, not the voice of two men, but the whole State & a great State, and have we not cause for alarm & gloom? I wish, I wish most ardently, I could propose some barrier to the desolation that seems to be sweeping over the land. But to wiser & more efficient hands I must trust it, & above all to that kind Providence which has brought us safely through so many difficulties.

I have expressed the opinion that Mr. Van Buren cannot get





the vote of Virginia. I go further & say I think he stands no chance of being elected. Should this be the prevailing opinion, I suppose his name will be withdrawn. In that event who will be nominated? For myself I say he must be a Texas man & I speak the voice of numbers of yesterday. As to other issues, he must be as little tainted with Bankism, tariffism, distributionism, & abolitionism! as possible. We must not compromise principles, for in this way we cannot get along. It is better to be beaten than to abandon principles. As to the person he must be of pure and commanding character. It is immaterial who he is with these requisites.

I do not expect, nor do I ask for an answer however agreeable it might be to me. The purpose of my letter will be known to you, & you will know how to appreciate my motives. I had withdrawn from the strife of politics. You will perceive how I have been aroused.

yrs respty,

W. M. WATKINS.

JOHN R. EDMUNDS TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Halifax Courthouse, May 12, 1844.

Dear Sir,

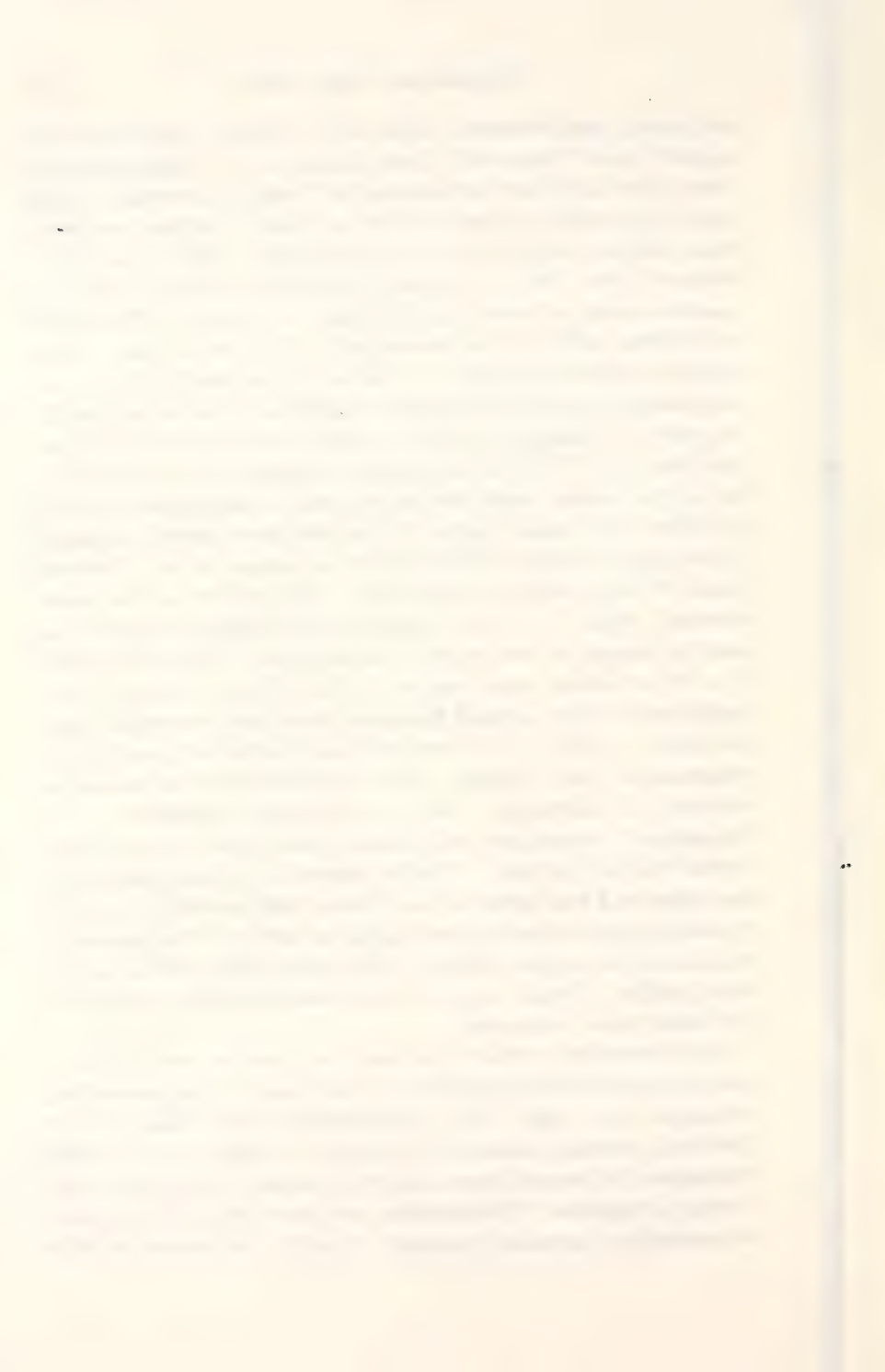
The demon discord has entered into our ranks. The movements, attributed to intrigues amongst members of Congress, pervade the whole Country—this county as much as any other. They do not spring from concerted understandings or efforts of politicians, but the Mass of the people without intercourse & without previous Consultation present the same picture of discord. It has been out of my power to write to you earlier, and indeed it is the appropriate duty of the Chairman of the Committee to keep you informed of public sentiment.

The whole democratic party, without a single exception so far as I know, are urgently in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. They are unwilling to vote for a Candidate who throws the weight of his positions and & opinions against immediate annexation and whose future position is in its favor



with many qualifications. The letter of Mr. Van Buren has created much surprise, disappointment & lukewarmness. There were sufficient indications in Virginia previous to this issue to persuade the most sanguine friend, that his prospects were doubtful to say the least, in this State. Since the publication of that letter. I cannot believe he has the *slightest possible chance* of carrying the State in the fall. There will be a Texas ticket—it is demanded by the great body of the people, without distinction of parties in the South. It is the only means of saving Virginia and keeping up a united Southern party. Though Mr. Clay is more obnoxious on this question than Mr. V. B. his friends were prepared for that issue—the *old federalists* were always opposed to annexation & cheer his letter—the states' rights Whigs who have recently enlisted in his cause could be drawn off by a proper ticket—between him & V. B., he will not lose a vote. He will retain his whole strength whilst V. B. will lose from the disappointment, discord & disgust of our party—but still more from the chance of a third ticket, even headed by Jno. Tyler. Should Tyler run he will detach several thousand from the democratic regular ticket. If Mr. V. B. runs we must under all possible circumstances lose Virginia. It is caused by no movement or intrigue of politicians, but by the people themselves. It is impossible to create any enthusiasm in his favor, or any hearty cordial feeling for him. We are placed in a false position by his letter and can advocate his claims with no zeal, & only as a choice of evils—because we can do no better. The ground of *availability* is certain defeat. We would rally with a *perfect* shout under a Texas flag, but with defeat plainly written on our brow under any other.

It is therefore perfect Madness to abandon the Cause or peril its success for partiality to the Man. It is hazzarding principles for men. It is surrendering the Cause of our Country, proving recreant to the vital interest of the South obstinately to persist in pressing the claims of any man, whose success is hopeless. Besides this, my dear Sir, this question is assuming a sectional bearing. I am by no means satisfied





with the tone of the North upon our future acquisition of territory. We surrendered too much in the Missouri Compromise, and committed one fatal error, in sacrificing permanent & future rights to extend slavery, to a timid time serving policy. We have gone too far already in offerings upon the shrine of selfishness & personal ambition. I regard the Cause of the democratic party the Cause of the Country—the whole Country—but that Country has a North & South; a slave holding & non slave holding population, whose interests have heretofore been regarded as opposite & antagonistical. Here is the great question upon which they conflict, as the non slave holder thinks; and as that issue is made in many Northern States, we shall weaken our future claims by too easy surrender in this canvass.

It will be urged against us in all future time, that we voted for an opponent to annexation, whilst the treaty was pending—and a treaty the most liberal & satisfactory to the whole North. the North will assume the tone of Menace, & confident in her strength will deny our just rights when slavery is involved. The position of our friends on the 21st rule during the present Congress, the insolent resolutions of Massachusetts, Vermont, & the New York Meeting should admonish us to be cautious—extremely cautious in yielding any further. We must not weaken our just claims, nor even the Moral weight of the South on this great question by a false move. Better far to be beaten in this party Contest. Better to take our ground uncompromisingly and say to our Northern friends, “Give us a Texas Candidate or we must split.” I am unwilling to assume any other position.

The result of this, I know, may be a split in the democratic ranks, and a resort to the House of Representatives. But shall North or South yield on the great question? Their rights & interests can not be endangered by yielding—*ours* must necessarily be. We must lose, whilst they could not. It is a speculative question with them; a practical & operating question with us of the utmost magnitude. If they stand out, so should *we*. This would lead to two nominations by the



Baltimore Convention, as they would probably split by some sectional line. We might throw the election in the H. of Rep. and then the Texas issue would come before that body in its most imposing form. The contemplated result is much to be deprecated; but the election of H. Clay still more so; and sacrificing our just claims to a Texas candidate absolutely out of the question.

I would, therefore, most earnestly press upon you not to yield one inch on that question, either in your paper, or in the Convention. We should not permit the North to vote us down on a sectional question & give us a candidate whose views impair our rights & weaken the assertion of our claims. We should distinctly say to the Convention before its action, that we will sustain the nomination of *no man* opposed to the annexation, or whose opinions were equivocal. We protested in the nomination of Johnson for Vice Pres. on a constitutional question—and voted against him after his nomination—and framed another ticket leaving out his name. We can do so again—and run our separate ticket in regard to Mr. V. B., if he should be nominated.

The friends of Mr. V. B. have no cause to complain of this course. The State of Virginia has pursued that course on a less important question & a less important office. Nor, can they complain for another reason. He cannot get the vote of Virginia in any event. The only question for us to decide is this: Is it better to *permit* Clay to get the vote or to beat Clay with some other Candidate? Would it not promote V. B's interest & the interest of the party to cast our vote away, rather than give it to Clay? Would it not be more judicious, wise, prudent & honorable to our Cause & to our State; and as a matter of mere policy better for Mr. V. B.? I believe the whole party in this section prefer another man, and if the Baltimore Convention refuses, then a large number are for a separate ticket. In this number I am unequivocally.

The proceedings of the State Convention have trammelled the Electors and I suppose the Assistant electors to some extent in regard to the Baltimore Convention. To free myself



from all recrimination & reproach, I do hereby resign the office of Assistant Elector in this electoral district. I beg you as Chairman of the Central Committee to communicate this resignation to the Committee, that my place may be filled, should they think proper.

In forwarding this resignation, I beg you distinctly to understand that my feelings & opinions have undergone no change on the great party questions—that I am ardently & sincerely a democrat; but the pledges to the nominee of the Baltimore Convention may embarrass me in future in regard to a great & vital question, to which peculiar prominence has been given since the meeting of the State Convention. I wish to be left free to act with either wing of the party as future developments, and matured Consultations & reflections shall suggest to my judgment. Indeed I can perceive no other way of remaining uncommitted to a man whose nomination may ruin our cause.

I have written this letter for your private eye—confidentially. When you are not busy, let me hear from you. Present me very kindly to the members of your family—& I am, with high respect, yr friend,

J. R. EDMUNDS.

R. HUBBARD TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Eldridge's, May 18th, 1844.

(Private.)

Dear Sir,

I have read Gen. Dromgoole's late letter to you. It is able and ingenious, but it has entirely failed to convince my mind of the impropriety of the course pursued by the Richmond Demo. Association. In my humble opinion, the Virginia delegates to the Baltimore Con. were not instructed or pledged to vote for the nomination of Mr. Van Buren *at all hazards*. When they were appointed it was the general impression that he would receive the nomination. That impression was founded mainly upon the belief that he was the most available. Then





it was the wish of probably the majority of the Republicans of Va, but the wish was subordinate to the desire to see our party and principles triumph in Nov. next. Since the appointment of delegates many unexpected events have occurred. They are well known & require no special reference. They significantly admonish us of the wisdom of making another selection than that indicated by the circumstances existing prior to the 1st March last. The Republicans of Va. will confidently believe, expect and require their delegates to the Convention to carry out that well known & wise maxim of Edmund Burke, to which you recently and appropriately referred. "*Never losing sight of principles,*" they should be "*guided by Circumstances*" or else they must ruin their "*country forever.*" *Adhering to great principles* our delegates should support the nomination of him who will be most likely to succeed. Personal attachment to no man should divert us from this path, which is that of duty and patriotism. We have the power to elect our candidates, and nothing but a lamentable want of energy, cooperation and public spirit can or will prevent it. I will not give up the Ship. The Baltimore Convention can and must dispel the fog. Let us look to it as the Ark of our safety. Let opinions be candidly compared and the claims and qualifications of our many distinguished men be duly considered, without excitement or passion, crimination or recrimination. Discarding all selfish feelings, expelling from their bosom all prejudice, cherishing a brotherly feeling, and looking to the ascendancy of our party and consequently our political principles, the delegates to that Convention will obtain the thanks of their constituents and secure the success of our candidates in Nov. '44. The opposite course will but excite discontent and ensure defeat. Upon that Convention a great responsibility rests. Every member should unceasingly recollect the urgent need of conciliation, forbearance, charity and good temper.

I earnestly hope the Convention will nominate a man who is favorable to the immediate annexation of Texas. Had Mr Van Buren taken this ground, he would have been elected.



The annexation is required for the safety of the South and the interests of the whole Union and no delay should be indulged. It is idle to trust the disingenuous disclaimers of our grasping adversary Great Britain. Truly did Gen. Cass say in June '43. "While we argue, England acts. She is already on her road to universal dominion. With words of philanthropy and schemes of ambition, she is seizing station after station, wherever she can make a lodgement, and where she can best effect her designs of aggrandizement." Such was his language when vindicating our right to Oregon. He is I trust equally in favor of the annexation of Texas. If so, would he not make a suitable candidate? Mr Buchanan stands high, but his standing would have been better to the South had he not voted for the Tariff of 1842. He is said to favor annexation and if so, I think he or Cass would run better south of the Potomac than Com. Stewart. Wiser heads than mine will however soon settle all this.

I thank you for the manly and patriotic stand you have taken upon the Texas question. I have thought a great deal upon it and read every thing pro & con I have been able to lay my hands on, and calm as my temperament is, I am the ardent & *enthusiastic* friend of immediate annexation. So thoroughly convinced am I of the expediency of this measure, aye its vital importance, that I fear that I shall not be able to vote except with great reluctance for any Presidential candidate holding opposite views. My opinions have not been hastily founded. I advocated annexation long before the treaty was formed. and like others, I own no Texas land, bonds or scrip. The letters of Randolph of R are greatly admired and read. He deserves the thanks of us all. Encourage him to continue his patriotic labours, which must ultimately do the cause great service. If the treaty fails, then let us not despair but arouse the South and cause the subject to be kept in motion until success is obtained. Our party are so far as I know warmly in favor of annexation and so *I know* are many Whigs, who are holding back until after the Nov. election. If Clay is elected, then they will go for instant annexation. Annexation





now will fail through the plots & counter-plots of Presidential aspirants.

Truly yours,

R. HUBARD.

S. B. FRENCH TO THOMAS RITCHIE.

Lynchburg, 23rd, May 1824.

Dear Sir,

In my recent wanderings in the upper country I have had some opportunity of feeling the public pulse, and I am pleased to say I have not met with a man who does not go for Texas. It is true that all the Whigs are for putting it off a little longer, but admit the propriety of ultimate annexation. In the county of Campbell I have understood, from the very best authority, that the whole Democratic party are in favor of immediate annexation—and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of them desire a candidate who agrees with them on this point. Gen. Cass & Col. Johnson seem to be the favorites for the presidency and the V. Presidency. I have met with several very intelligent gentlemen from the South, who reported that no man could get their Electoral vote, who was opposed to immediate annexation: that the whole South, without regard to party, was "up to the hub" for Texas. The Democrats here seem to look forward to the nominations on the 27 with very great interest and are determined to "do or die" in the cause of principles and our country. It seems to be very generally admitted that Van Buren is no longer available, as in fact no man would be who is opposed to Texas. Let us be united on some man— . . . light—expose our enemies and the day is ours.

Yrs very truly,

S. BASSETT FRENCH.



THE JOHN P. BRANCH  
HISTORICAL PAPERS

OF  
RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE

*Published Annually by the Department of History.*

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## Preface

The John P. Branch Historical Papers for 1914 will probably contain biographies of John M. Daniel, Daniel Sheffey, and Colonel William Preston, together with a small collection of the unpublished letters of Colonel Preston. There are yet for sale twelve or fifteen complete sets of the Branch Papers, which will be sold at \$2.00 per volume. Any persons having manuscript material of or relating to Daniel, Sheffey or Preston, will render a service by communicating that fact to the editor of these papers.

CHARLES H. AMBLER.





## JAMES McDOWELL.\*

Edgar P. Nicholson, A. B.

Most of the periods of American history have contained one central thread about which the events of the time have been arranged. So it was with the period from 1830 to 1850, in which McDowell's public career was spent, for it presents the rise of the great issue that was later to rend the Union. Around the central thread of negro slavery was grouped such questions as the Mexican War, the annexation of Texas, the Wilmot Proviso, and the Compromise of 1850, in all of which the issue of slavery was clearly manifested.

Just after James McDowell entered public life the question of negro slavery, as a result of the Nat Turner Insurrection in Southampton county, was debated in the Virginia Assembly as a state problem, and when he died the same question, which had assumed a national aspect, was before Congress, but unsettled. As a matter of course, his attention was drawn to this momentous question in his early career and he devoted much time to a study of it.

Virginia by 1830 was distinctly sectional. This was shown by the debates in the Constitutional Convention of that year. The east was pitted against the west on almost all of the questions of any importance. McDowell was a man in whom democratic western ideas had been instilled and he advanced them to the best of his ability. He was the leader and the very embodiment of western Virginia.

It is my intention to show in this biography how he remained true to western principles and ideas and conscientiously led the people of that section of the State of Virginia in many of their battles.

The McDowells, according to the Scotch records in the British Museum, can be traced to the twelfth century. "They held lands in Galloway, Scotland, and afterwards, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, moved to the north of Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

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\*The Bennett History Medal was awarded the writer of this essay.

<sup>1</sup>Washington and Lee Historical Papers, No. 5. p. 34.



The Prestons, from whom McDowell was descended on his mother's side, were from the north of England.<sup>2</sup> These two names, so closely interlinked, were both represented in the memorable siege of Londonderry.<sup>3</sup> The Prestons contributed six brothers to the army of William III, three of whom perished in the siege just mentioned, two returned to Yorkshire, and one, Archibald, remained in Londonderry, where his son John was born. John Preston married Elizabeth Patton, owner of a "Shipyard" in Dublin.<sup>4</sup>

In the siege, the McDowells were represented by Ephraim McDowell, founder of the family of that name in Virginia and Kentucky, and an elder brother who lost his life. About the year 1735, Ephraim emigrated from Ireland and settled in Pennsylvania, but shortly afterwards with his two sons, John and James, and his son-in-law, James Greenlee, he migrated to Virginia, to the home of his relative, John Lewis. Here he established himself on the famous tract of land granted to Benjamin Borden by Governor Gooch. John later purchased a tract of one thousand acres from Borden in what is now Rockbridge county and called it "Cherry Grove." He was killed in a battle with the Shawnee Indians, near Balcony Falls, in 1742, leaving two sons, one of whom was James, who married Elizabeth McClung. James died in 1770. A posthumous son was born the same year—James, later a Colonel in the War of 1812.<sup>5</sup>

Not very long after the McDowells had settled in Virginia, John Preston and his wife, in 1738, made their way to a tract of land in Augusta county, belonging to Colonel Patton—his wife was a daughter of Benjamin Borden and he had secured a grant known as "Spring Hill." Later they moved to near the present site of Staunton. Preston died in 1747 and left four daughters and a son, William, a surveyor and explorer. It was at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse that William met his death. His daughter, Sarah, married Colonel James Mc-

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<sup>2</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>*Hardesty, Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, pp. 378-9.

Brock, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, pp. 204-208.

<sup>4</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup>*Hardesty, Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, p. 378-9.





Dowell, and Laetitia married John Floyd. To the first named couple was born two daughters and one son: Susan B., who married William Taylor, of Alexandria, a lawyer and a member of Congress; Elizabeth, who married Thomas H. Benton, and James, the subject of this biography.<sup>6</sup> By blood and marriage James McDowell was connected with some of the most influential families of the country, such as the Breckenridges, Prestons, Lewises, Floyds and Campbells.

James McDowell, Jr., was born at the family seat, "Cherry Grove," Rockbridge county, October 13, 1795.<sup>7</sup> This was an ideal place for the development of a mind that later was to open "chambers of imagery." Here, surrounded by the many diversities of a large plantation and all that was beautiful in nature, his wide-awake mind expanded and broadened. Unlike his ancestors, James never showed any inclination toward farming, for the bent of his mind was toward the intellectual. Naturally, he turned to his mother for sympathy in his taste for books, for when she was a child her father instilled into her a taste for books and purchased for his home as many as he was able. From this library she acquired her literary cultivation and she was now to impart it to her son. A careful tutor and a pious Christian, she exerted an influence upon her son that was to last through life. McDowell in after life said that although his father was a Federalist, his mother, who was a staunch Republican, framed his political creed for him.<sup>8</sup>

Colonel McDowell had planned to educate his son, so he now sent him to a classical school conducted by Rev. Dr. William McPheeters. From here he went to receive private tutelage under Rev. Samuel Brown, from whom he imbibed the principles of religion and Christianity which he retained until death. Under Rev. Brown he pursued chiefly a study of English and the languages. As a declaimer he excelled all others.<sup>9</sup> Having for a long time been a trustee of Washington

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<sup>6</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 42-49.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 50; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 450.

<sup>8</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 50-52.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.



College it was natural that Colonel McDowell should send his son to that institution.<sup>10</sup>

Probably drawn by the influence of Dr. Timothy Dwight, Colonel McDowell and General Breckenridge, in 1813, sent their sons to Yale. James spent only one year there, and in 1814 he entered the College of New Jersey. The most pleasant days of his whole educational career were passed here, for all of the environment was attractive and the associations were pleasant. In manner he was reserved, yet he formed lasting friends, among whom were Dr. John Breckenridge, of Kentucky; Rev. Dr. John MacLean, later President of Princeton College; Hon. Benj. W. Richards, Mayor of Philadelphia; and several others. Although he pursued a general course of study, he paid more attention to English literature than to any other branch.<sup>11</sup>

In prose composition he was considered the best writer in college. As a scholar he was distinguished, speaking the Latin salutatory oration at the time of his graduation in 1816. "While yet at college, he gave promise of attaining to some high position in public life. He here exhibited those traits of integrity, firmness, and honor which won for him the respect of all to whom he was known."<sup>12</sup>

He had hardly received his M. A. degree when he became of age, on October 13, 1816. The profession of law attracted him at this time, but his father was so pleased with the success of his son at college that he gave him a valuable tract of land in Bourbon county, Kentucky.<sup>13</sup> So wider plans were opened to him under the pressure of this gift.

On September 7, 1818, he married the girl whom he had loved since childhood, Susanna Smith Preston, daughter of his uncle, General Francis Preston, of Washington county, Virginia. Her mother was a daughter of General William Campbell, of Revolutionary fame, and Elizabeth Henry, sister of

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<sup>10</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 53-54

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>12</sup>Dr. John MacLean, in the *Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup>*Hardesty, Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, pp. 378-9.



Patrick Henry. There never was a more harmonious union, one always confiding in and counselling with the other.<sup>14</sup>

The desire for a profession again pressed upon him, and he commenced a study of law in the office of Chapman Johnson, an eminent lawyer who resided in Staunton, Virginia. Just after he had received a license to practice he decided to establish himself on his property, "The Military," in Bourbon county, Kentucky. It was situated about twelve miles from Lexington, and McDowell decided to unite law and farm by keeping an office in the town and driving in every day. He had not been practicing very long when he walked up to his wife one day and said, "Others may be, but I don't know how I can be an honest man and a lawyer."<sup>15</sup> She was keenly disappointed, yet she accepted it with grace.

McDowell then turned all of his attention to his farm. Soon after this the young farmer was stricken with the fever of that region and very nearly approached death, but Dr. Louis Marshall, a kinsman and friend, saved his life by the use of calomel, which was a French method of treatment and new in American practice. In order to thoroughly recover, McDowell returned to Virginia, but he had really come to stay, for his father suffered a stroke of paralysis and his son gave up personal plans in deference to filial duty. Colonel McDowell purchased a tract from the Hoffmans, a mile from Lexington and ten miles from his own home, and gave it to his son. Later a new dwelling was built on the crest of the hill with the town of Lexington in full view, and it was named "Colalto." Here he made his permanent home.<sup>16</sup>

McDowell had been living in Lexington only a short time before the opportunity presented itself for him to do a good deed for Washington College, of which his father was a trustee. John Robinson, a wealthy old bachelor, was near death, and McDowell succeeded in getting the old man to leave his estate to the college. In acknowledgment of this he was made a trustee of that institution.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>Brock, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, pp. 204-208.

<sup>16</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 59-61.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 62.





Surrounded by circumstances and conditions different from what he had planned and with a mind bent toward literature and public affairs, he was easily drawn into politics. From the first he became deeply interested in the material, educational, and political interests of both town and county. The period (1817-28) in which McDowell took a part in local questions and in which he was preparing himself for life, was one of accord in national politics. It was an "Era of Good Feeling" and one during which the National-Republican party made its rise.

As sectional differences, both between the North and the South and eastern and western Virginia, appeared about the time McDowell made his entry into public life, it is almost necessary at this point to show some of the events leading thereto. In 1817 eastern Virginia opposed the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *McCullough v. Maryland*, because of political questions involved, and western Virginia opposed it because of her devotion to state banks. When the Assembly passed a resolution, in 1819, directing the Virginia Senators in Congress to oppose the United States Bank the west was in perfect unison with the east.<sup>18</sup> About this time the west was undergoing an economic change which caused it to develop a sentiment favorable to a protective tariff.<sup>19</sup> Yet in 1824, nearly all of the western delegation in Congress voted with that of the east against the tariff bill of that year.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, the west in its development had great need of means of communication and clamored for internal improvements. The important factors in shaping the internal improvement policies in Virginia were, the improvement schemes urged by the advocates of the American System and the railways in process of construction westward from Baltimore. Many in Virginia wanted to see Richmond become a rival of Baltimore. Hence, an interest was revived in connecting the James and Kanawha rivers, but in the Convention of 1829-'30 the west found out that it could expect little or nothing of the east in

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<sup>18</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, pp. 103-104.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120.



the way of roads and canals. It then tried to discover what Jackson's policy was in regard to improvements, hoping for a continuance of Adams' policy, which Jackson's inaugural and first message made them think might be followed.<sup>21</sup> Jackson, by his veto of the Maysville Appropriation Bill and pocketing of the Portland Canal Company Bill, showed the west that the federal government would not aid local improvements. The west then turned to the state legislature for aid.<sup>22</sup> The west now favored the railroad and the east the canal. Up to 1831, the year James McDowell took his seat in the Assembly of Virginia, there had been practically no success in aiding railroads.<sup>23</sup>

Passing over all of the differences in regard to the tariff and internal improvements, it is clear to all students of Virginia history that in 1828 it was impossible for Virginia to remain without sectional lines, when the west sent up a cry for suffrage reform and advocated a white basis of representation. In opposition to this, the conservative slave-owners of the east wanted suffrage on a mixed basis of property and white population. In order to reach a settlement, a compromise was effected between the two contending factions which was unfavorable to the west.<sup>24</sup> It is true that by increasing the representation of the Valley and the Piedmont the center of reform agitation was shifted to trans-Alleghany Virginia, yet this was no sign that the Valley and the Piedmont were thoroughly satisfied and in harmony with eastern Virginia.

James McDowell began his public career as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates from the county of Rockbridge in the session of 1831-32. In the early days of the session he was appointed chairman of the committee on roads and internal navigation,<sup>25</sup> in which position he was to perform noble and efficient service. Within a month after his appointment he had introduced several important bills and resolutions relating to the improvement of roads and canals,

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>24</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup>*Journal, House of Delegates (1831-32)*, p. 8.





the most important of which was a resolution presented January 9, 1832, which read: "That the best interests of the Commonwealth demand the immediate commencement and vigorous prosecution of a line of commercial intercourse by such mode or modes as may be deemed most eligible, uniting the navigable waters of the Ohio, with the tide of the James."<sup>26</sup> Due to the fact that some wanted a railroad and some wanted a canal, a compromise was made by incorporating a joint stock company (James River and Kanawha) to supersede the old James River Canal Company. It, however, met with obstacles, because the individuals of the east could not command enough capital to promote it and the banks situated remotely from the proposed central line of improvement refused to contribute.<sup>27</sup>

As the South was beginning her defense of slavery about 1830 and the North was making that defense keener by her anti-slavery movement and propaganda, Virginia was assuming new sectional lines over the question of negro slavery. The east began to defend slavery as a divine institution and the west favoring gradual emancipation and deportation, began to contend that it was an economic evil.<sup>28</sup> In August, 1831, occurred the very thing which southerners always dreaded—a slave insurrection—but it happened in only one county of Virginia. "Nat" Turner, a slave belonging to a Mr. Travis, of Southampton county, collected about fifty or sixty blacks and led them forth on August 22, 1831. Before they were checked sixty-one or sixty-two whites had been murdered and panic reigned in the county. "Nat" and his band, however, were routed before military aid could be secured from Richmond.<sup>29</sup> Without going further into the history of this insurrection, I shall merely state that it caused a chill of horror to run through the State and impelled the east, on account of a feeling of insecurity, to demand that the next legislature take up the question of negro slavery. It desired pro-

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<sup>26</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1831-32), p. 91.

<sup>27</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, pp. 182-184.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>29</sup>Drewry, *Southampton Insurrection*, pp. 20-102.



tection against further outbreaks, while the west wanted to rid the State of the evils of slavery.<sup>30</sup>

In his message to the Assembly Governor John Floyd, who was a sympathizer with the east, said the causes were due to "unrestrained fanatics" and recommended the silencing of negro preachers; a revision of the laws to keep the slaves in due subordination; and that measures be taken for the removal of free blacks from the State. He also urged the Assembly to take up the matter at once.<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, many petitions, memorials, etc., poured into the Assembly, all of which were referred to a select committee of twenty-one members, of whom sixteen were from counties east of the Blue Ridge. It is very probable that the report of the committee later would have been adopted had not Mr. Goode of Mecklenburg, the leader of the slave interests, while the committee was still busy, moved that it be discharged from the consideration of "petitions, memorials," etc., and that "it is not expedient to legislate on the subject."<sup>32</sup> Very promptly Thomas Jefferson Randolph of Albemarle, a grandson of Jefferson, moved to amend Goode's motion by offering as a substitute Jefferson's *post nati* scheme.<sup>33</sup> This precipitated a discussion which was ended in a few days by the committee reporting, that "it is inexpedient for the present to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery."<sup>34</sup> Mr. Preston of Montgomery, immediately moved to amend the report by substituting for it, "it is expedient to adopt some legislative enactment for the abolition of slavery."<sup>35</sup> This caused the great debate on slavery. The westerners regarded slavery as a great economic evil and feared that they would be forced to become slave-holders if state laws against the domestic trade should divert Virginia's surplus slaves to the west. The east said that the west would not be forced to purchase slaves and insisted that slavery would continue to be confined more and more to the lower South.

<sup>30</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, p. 188.

<sup>31</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1831-32), pp. 5-14.

<sup>32</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1831-32), p. 93.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 99.



The debate was approaching its end when James McDowell rose on January 21, 1832, and addressed the House.<sup>36</sup> In his introduction he said that he felt the question had brought a crisis on the country, the decision of which demanded that every member guided only by his judgment and conscience should take his position upon it. This decision, as he said, would have an eventful influence upon the social structure and condition of the State. In the course of the debate he had noted that no inquiry had been made into the relative capacities of the negro and the white man as laborers—"as the mere agents of production." So he decided to base his argument regarding the expediency of manumission upon this and said that the proposition was established, both by general deduction from the principles of human nature and observation, that the labor of a free white man, in the temperate climate of Virginia was more productive than that of a slave.

McDowell then undertook to sustain the amendment of expediency and to look into the mode of legislation. It was no part of their duty, he claimed, to inquire "whether slavery does or does not consist with the leading principles of a Republic, but that their duty was to regard it as the proposed object of legislation. "It is only as such an object," said he, "and not because of any speculative matter connected with his history [the slave's], or with our right to his services as a slave, that I intend to regard him now." The argument of impracticability of legislating and the difficulties attached thereto, he annihilated by showing that the acquisition of science, art and society had been made by overcoming as great difficulties, and he said in addition: "The difficulties in the way of legislation are not more positive than are the necessities for it."

As an advocate of gradual emancipation McDowell said, "Let us give our minds patiently and laboriously to some plan of gradual emancipation or removal and we need not fear the result." Referring to Virginia's depletion, he truthfully said, "Our interests and senses proclaim the progress of general

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<sup>36</sup>*Journal, House of Delegates (1831-32)*, p. 105.





decline; conscience and experience attest that slavery is its principal cause." He shattered the argument of the opposition, that there was a want of means to buy the slaves, and that land could not be taxed to free the negro because it would make one property pay for another, by asking, "Is she [Virginia] competent to institute a right of property which she is not competent to remedy, qualify, or withdraw as considerations of necessity?" The enemies of abolition contended that slavery was a dangerous property. In reply to this he said that it was the right and duty of every government to protect its citizens from danger, and asked why it should not be applied to slavery. "It is easier," he stated, "to defend by excluding or preventing danger than by permitting it and then resisting it," and he showed the mode of prevention to be that of diminishing the increase of slaves by a gradual liberation and removal of them. Then he pictured the dangers of disunion and added, "There is one thing which we may be said to know. It is this, sir, that the slave-holding interest of the country, will and can coalesce with no other interest, and must, as a consequence, be separate and hostile to all others."

Alluding directly to the "Nat" Turner insurrection, McDowell declared it to be not a "petty affair" and attributed the alarm which it occasioned to the suspicion that a "Nat" might be in every family.

In his conclusion these are the words McDowell employed, "As a Virginian no less than a western man I would implore this Assembly to begin the work of safety and protection now. A definite and positive law is not sought for—only let the object be resolved upon, only let the 'expediency' of it be established by your decision and you will, for the present, have made progress enough—you will have laid the cornerstone on which the better fortunes of your country may be built."<sup>37</sup>

This speech was highly complimented on all sides. Even the editor of the *Richmond Whig*, who opposed McDowell, said "On Saturday Mr. McDowell addressed the House in favor of abolition, in a speech which has at once placed him in the front rank of the talent and eloquence of Virginia. Friend

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<sup>37</sup>*Pamphlet, Virginia Slavery Debate, 1831-1832.*



and foe of the cause which he supported, agree in its high and commanding than any he had ever heard in Washington.<sup>38</sup> A prominent writer calls it the "most eloquent and effective speech of the great debate."<sup>39</sup>

Preston's amendment was defeated<sup>40</sup> and no immediate legislative action was taken, for the Senate defeated the bill providing for removal.<sup>41</sup> This debate was followed by a reaction against abolition.<sup>42</sup>

During the summer of 1832 McDowell worked for Jackson's re-election and remained loyal to Van Buren, because he thought P. P. Barbour, the choice of the strict construction wing of the Democratic party in Virginia for Vice-President, was a nullifier.<sup>43</sup> He was named a delegate to the Baltimore convention, but he was not pledged to Van Buren.<sup>44</sup> Barbour later withdrew as he said for the sake of harmony. Unity was shown in the election of William C. Rives to the United States Senate with only six votes cast against him.<sup>45</sup>

When the Assembly convened in December, 1832, both the State and the nation were in a foment over South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification. Governor Floyd, at once, sent to the legislature official information in regard to the ordinance and the President's Proclamation.<sup>46</sup> A select committee of twenty-one members was appointed on federal relations to take up the matter. Previous to this a split had occurred in the Democratic party over this issue, the western wing led by Rives and McDowell joining the National-Republicans to form a Union party, while the Seceders and Nullifiers in the east united to form a State Rights party.<sup>47</sup> When the select committee was appointed a majority of the members were state

<sup>38</sup>*Richmond Whig*, January 23, 1832.

<sup>39</sup>Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. I, p. 205.

<sup>40</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1831-1832), p. 109.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>42</sup>Ambler *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 201.

<sup>43</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 113.

<sup>44</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, May 11, 1832.

<sup>45</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1832-33), p. 22.

<sup>46</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1832-33), p. 30.

<sup>47</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 209.





rights men. Due to this the west took a firm stand for the Union which is shown by letters, editorials, etc., in papers like the *Lexington Union* of western Virginia, and speeches in the Assembly.

As expected the report of the committee was a defense of state rights. The Unionists strenuously opposed it, but to no avail, for the state rights party was now in control of the Assembly. Marshall, of Fauquier county, offered a substitute for the report of the committee,<sup>48</sup> which was more favorable to the unionists. McDowell sustained it with a "splendid oration," says the *Whig*, but the editor adds, that McDowell was dictated by a wish to exonerate Jackson's Proclamation doctrines from censure by the Legislature.<sup>49</sup> This was fatal to his political advancement.

Meanwhile Virginia's politics had changed greatly, for early in the session (1832-33) Rives, a Jackson man, had been elected without opposition, but now, John Tyler, who believed in secession and cast the only vote in the United States Senate against the Force Bill, was re-elected over James McDowell by the vote of 81 to 62.<sup>50</sup> Although ambitious to become a United States Senator, he would not sacrifice the dictates of his conscience and his Christian integrity for party principles and, as a result, he lost his coveted desire.

Misrepresentations of his position on Nullification and the excitement in Rockbridge county called forth from McDowell a reply to a letter published in the *Lexington Union*, which asked for an explanation from him. In his reply, he stated that he believed Nullification to be absolutely unfounded and inadmissible and that the right of a State to secede peaceably whenever it desires to do so, had not been reserved by the States directly or impliedly, in the Federal Constitution.<sup>51</sup>

In the Spring election of 1834 McDowell was elected to the Assembly again together with C. P. Dorman, an opponent of the administration.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Journal, House of Delegates* (1832-33), p. 79.

<sup>49</sup>*Richmond Whig*, January 2, 1833.

<sup>50</sup>*Journal, House of Delegates* (1832-33), p. 183.

<sup>51</sup>*The Union*, March 23, 1833.

<sup>52</sup>*Richmond Whig*, April 8, 1834.



Beginning about 1832 party lines in Virginia began to change as a consequence of the overshadowing influence of national issues within the State. Jackson's arbitrary conduct in removing the deposits enlarged the breach in the Union party and increased the zeal of the opposition to the extent that the nationalists and state rights delegates united to instruct their representatives in the United States Senate to aid in bringing about a restoration of the deposits. Rives refused to obey and resigned.<sup>53</sup> B. W. Leigh was elected to fill his place.<sup>54</sup>

By 1834 the change was complete, for a coalition was made between the nationalists and state rights men and the name Whig adopted. In the same year they elected a majority to the legislature. From the very beginning, however, conflict arose which was to continue throughout its history and shorten its rule. Discord was first manifested in the election of a United States Senator in 1835. Leigh's ardent devotion to state rights and his action in the Constitutional Convention of 1829-'30 made him unpopular among the western Whigs and many delegates were instructed to vote against him.<sup>55</sup> McDowell, although holding views opposite to those of William C. Rives, and to the wing of the party represented by him, voted for him in opposition to Leigh because he thought it necessary to the support of the general policy of the administration that there should be compromises of special points of difference.<sup>56</sup> Leigh was elected.<sup>57</sup>

On the day preceding McDowell, who had been stormed by instructions with private signatures attached thereto as to his duty in the election, availed himself of the opportunity to express his views on the "Right of Instruction."<sup>58</sup> He supported the right as a principle of representative government, yet he declared the mode used in its exercise—private signature—to be a most unfit and improper one. "When you make

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<sup>53</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, pp. 220-221.

<sup>54</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1833-34), p. 214.

<sup>55</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, p. 222.

<sup>56</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, March 12, 1835.

<sup>57</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1834-35), p. 110.

<sup>58</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5. pp. 120-121.





any mode whatsoever of executing a duty contemptible in the eye of the public," he said, "you make the man who executes it contemptible also." "Persuade the representative in such a case that the mode adopted is an utterly unfit and pernicious one—it will be no hard matter to fasten on his mind the conviction, that so unfit an exercise of the right, on the part of his constituents, establishes no fit claim either upon his respect or his obedience." Concluding, he made an appeal for Virginia to rally to the "Right of Instruction" with her utmost might and admonished the House to do its duty. "She cannot cringe in this duty—she cannot veer away from it: her spirit and her justice cannot falter, when a first principle of her faith is brought into struggle and jeopardy."<sup>59</sup>

Commenting upon McDowell's speech, the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer* said "This well deserves the compliment of being called a great speech. It illustrates and enforces the great and fundamental right of instruction, and annihilates, with a giant's club all of the miserable sophistries which have been fabricated for the purpose of assailing the practical exercise of the right." He realized that an effort would be made to put McDowell down and said further "He [McDowell] is decidedly one of the first orators whom Virginia has seen in her public councils for several years. His enlarged views of state politics qualify him to render the most substantial services to the Commonwealth."<sup>60</sup>

Much criticism of McDowell's action came from the opposition as given to the public in such papers as the *Union* and the *Whig*. The *Union* took him to task for such an "unnecessary speech," and said that he should have helped to make laws rather than enlighten the people on "abstract popular rights."<sup>61</sup> Alluding to the same speech later the *Union* termed it an "ingenious and eloquent" production but without any pretensions either to "splendor or greatness."<sup>62</sup>

McDowell failed of re-election in the Spring of 1835 chiefly because of his position on the "Right of Instruction." Glory-

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<sup>59</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, March 12, 1835.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup>*The Union*, March 7, 1835.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, March 27, 1835.





ing in his defeat, the *Richmond Whig* appeared after the election with an editorial headed thus, "Rout of the Van Burenites! Defeat of McDowell! Reprobation of "Bush" Instructions!"<sup>63</sup> Three days later, the editor in a half apologetic manner stated that he did not exult in the fate of McDowell, but believed that he was elected in 1834 with the expectation that he would vote for Mr. Leigh.<sup>64</sup> Being a warm Jackson Democrat and a supporter of the administration, McDowell worked for Van Buren's election in 1836, and the State was carried for him largely because the Democratic party reached a more satisfactory conclusion than did the Whigs over the subject of abolition.<sup>65</sup> McDowell upheld Van Buren in his "Independent Treasury" scheme and advocated his measure of specie currency.<sup>66</sup> As a result of the panic of 1837 and the legislation intended to restore a sound currency, Van Buren's administration lost the support of a part of the Jacksonian Democracy. The Whigs gained ground everywhere and promotion for a Van Buren Democrat could hardly be expected. In Virginia, Rives and his "conservative" following joined the Whig party, while Hunter, Tazewell and others of the strict construction wing of the Whig party followed Calhoun into the administration party. All of these changes in the issues and the alignments of party leaders rendered success possible for the Whigs.<sup>67</sup>

McDowell offered again for the Assembly in 1837, and, although the *Union* raked up many old charges and tried to make him out an abolitionist for what he had said in 1832, he was elected largely by Whig votes.<sup>68</sup> After his election the *Lexington Gazette* (formerly the *Union*) was anxious to know what course he would pursue in regard to the Federal Resolutions (on the bank) introduced in the House. These resolutions affirmed the necessity of divorcing the government from the banks; asserted the inexpediency and unconstitutionality of a United States Bank and of treasury or government banks.

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<sup>63</sup>*Richmond Whig*, April 10, 1835.

<sup>64</sup>*Richmond Whig*, April 13, 1835.

<sup>65</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 228.

<sup>66</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 123.

<sup>67</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 229.

<sup>68</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, Letter reprinted in *Lexington Gazette*, May 26, 1837.



The Whigs were anti-sub-treasury men. McDowell was in favor of the sub-treasury scheme.<sup>69</sup> Soon after this, he voted for the resolutions which favored state banks paying or redeeming their notes with specie.<sup>70</sup>

In this the last session that he was to serve in the House of Delegates, McDowell labored earnestly for the interests of the State and made his last stand for internal improvements in a most masterful speech on February 21, 1838. The papers of Richmond spoke thus of it: "One of the ablest speeches ever delivered in the Hall upon this subject. It was at once argumentative, chaste and impressive, and some of its passages were peculiarly beautiful and eloquent, thrilling the auditors with admiration."<sup>71</sup> A speech which held the House enchained in rapture and admiration.<sup>72</sup>

He also caught the philanthropic and educational spirit of his time and presented bills providing for the establishment of the western asylum and for the establishment of the Virginia Military Institute, both of which were passed.<sup>73</sup>

A letter printed in the *Enquirer* and signed "Virginian" predicted defeat for McDowell in the coming election in the following words, "James McDowell, of Rockbridge, is to be immolated on the altar of party spirit. His splendid services in the aid of Internal Improvements, his great talents—all are to be forgotten in the clamorous game of political warfare."<sup>74</sup> This prediction proved to be true, for the Whigs carried the State in the election of 1838, and McDowell who advocated Van Buren and no bank, was defeated by his Whig opponent who advocated Clay and a national bank.<sup>75</sup>

During the next few years McDowell was free to attend to his own private affairs, and it was during the same time that he delivered several addresses, the most important of which

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<sup>69</sup>*Lexington Gazette*, February 2, 1838.

<sup>70</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1838), p. 169.

<sup>71</sup>*Richmond Whig*, February 22, 1838.

<sup>72</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, February 22, 1838.

<sup>73</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 123-125.

<sup>74</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, April 7, 1838.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, May 1, 1838.





were, at Amherst College, August 21, 1838;<sup>76</sup> at Princeton College, September 26, 1838; and at the opening of the Western Asylum in Staunton.<sup>77</sup> The one delivered at Princeton College, known as his "West Augusta" speech, is considered by many critics as the greatest oration that he ever delivered.

Speaking from the same platform upon which he had twenty-two years before delivered the Latin salutatory, he chose as his subject a patriot's duty, love of country and the preservation of the Union. At first he touched upon the alumnus' affections. Then he appealed for a broad education without jealousy and prejudice. Turning to the graduates, he exhorted them to prepare for public as well as for private life that they might help their country, and he begged them to remain honest to themselves and to their country, sacrificing, if necessary, party ties. Advocating a firm Union he appealed for an unselfish devotion such as that of Pitt and Adams.

At this point he diverged from the view of a patriot's duty to make some remarks upon an all-pervading subject which involved it and had caused the grumblings of sectional strife. Abolition was the subject meant and he called it, "that subject of monster omen, though perchance of pious birth." Then in a most impassionate appeal and outburst of oratory he begged those locally foreign to its interests and dangers who bewailed the existence of slavery as a "maelstrom in the bosom of Southern society" to leave the subject with every accountability and remedy to the interest and wisdom of those upon whom the Providence of God and the constitution of the country had cast it.

Referring to the abolition propaganda and agitation, he entreated them to stop the furious headway of the destructive and mad philanthropy which was lighting up for the nation fires for the stake. He admonished them to abjure the cause which involved crime and the disciples who supported it. "Spare us! Oh, spare us!" he said, "the curse of a ruptured brotherhood, of a ruined, ruined country."

In conclusion, he said that "West Augusta" hoped and

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<sup>76</sup>*Lexington Gazette*, September 7, 1838.

<sup>77</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 125.



wished to finish with the North, as she had begun, the destinies of the nation; "arm in arm to share with you [the North] in a common glory, and perish, when perish she must, only upon a common field."<sup>78</sup>

When the split occurred in the Democratic party in Virginia about 1838 the work of winning Virginia for Democracy was entrusted to T. J. Randolph, McDowell, Parker, Daniel and several others. The west led by Randolph and McDowell, accepted "Old Bullion's" (Benton's) policy of hard money, because her population was largely rural. These two leaders gained prestige in their efforts to prevent Rives turning Whig and from appropriating to himself the political legacies of Madison and Jefferson.<sup>79</sup> By 1839 McDowell had become the acknowledged leader of Democracy in Virginia.<sup>80</sup>

In 1839 the *Loco Foco* faction of the Democratic party, in Rockbridge county, under the leadership of James McDowell founded in Lexington a newspaper—the *Valley Star*—to oppose the Whig paper in that district, the *Lexington Gazette*. John Letcher, McDowell's intimate friend, was made editor.<sup>81</sup> In the election of 1840 McDowell worked earnestly for Van Buren and the State was carried for him by a bare majority which was due to the heavy vote polled in the counties west of the Blue Ridge.<sup>82</sup>

McDowell ran for Congress in 1841, but he was defeated by A. H. H. Stuart.<sup>83</sup>

As a result of the Whigs' differences over Tyler's opposition to their program and the political readjustments of 1841 and 1842 the Democrats elected a majority to the Assembly, most of whom came from the counties west of the Blue Ridge, where McDowell's influence was greatest.<sup>84</sup>

The last decade of James McDowell's public career was one of rapid extension to the westward. We acquired from Mexico and

<sup>78</sup>*Pamphlet* James McDowell's speech published by John Bogart.

<sup>79</sup>Ambler, *Life of Thos. Ritchie*, pp. 213-229.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>81</sup>John P. Branch *Historical Papers*, Vol. III, p. 315.

<sup>82</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 231.

<sup>83</sup>*Lexington Gazette*, April 22, 1841.

<sup>84</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 1776-1861, p. 231.

Ambler, *Life of Thos. Ritchie*, p. 235.



England over a million square mile of territory stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.<sup>85</sup> In the meantime, many changes had taken place in regard to the slavery question, for now the system of civilization in the North and that in the South had so diverged that sectionalization was plain. As the North and the South drew apart the industrial conflict which accompanied territorial expansion became "irrepressible."<sup>86</sup>

James McDowell, who had been nominated for Governor by the Lynchburg *Virginian* as early as 1833,<sup>87</sup> was elected Governor of Virginia by the new Democratic Assembly on December 15, 1842.<sup>88</sup> In a letter accepting this office of public trust he uttered words which showed his soundness. "In accepting this office," said he, "my hope is that no ultimate prejudice will result to the State from her honors to me, and that no citizen of it will ever have any justifiable cause to think or to feel, that there is any one power with which I am armed, as executive, by the constitution and the laws, which will not be executed whenever need be—strenuously, faithfully, and to the uttermost—for the full protection of every right, public and private, which the constitution and laws have established."<sup>89</sup>

As soon as he had taken his seat in the executive chair McDowell turned his attention to the individual needs of the State, the chief of which were internal improvements and public education. But a matter in regard to slavery first demanded his attention. It was the Latimer case left upon the docket of the acting Governor who preceded him. Latimer, a fugitive slave, belonging to James Grey, of Norfolk, had been found in Boston and put in jail at Grey's request. This caused much excitement in the city and opposition to his imprisonment, but Chief Justice Shaw decided that he should be kept in jail subject to his master's action. Governor McDowell studied the case well and under the statute of the United States made requisition of the Governor of Massachu-

<sup>85</sup>Ashley, *American Federal State*, p. 161.

<sup>86</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension* (Am. Nation Series, Vol. 17), pp. 1-20.

<sup>87</sup>Reprinted in the *Lexington Gazette*, November 9, 1833.

<sup>88</sup>*Journal*, House of Delegates (1842-43), p. 32.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.





setts for the slave, but Governor Davis refused, and Virginia became exasperated.<sup>90</sup>

The press gave vent to many appeals and criticisms. In a series of editorials the *Whig* flayed Governor McDowell for his action and professed no confidence in gubernatorial correspondence between two abolitionists. It criticised him as the "Loco Foco abolitionist Governor of Virginia" and accused him of going even further than J. Q. Adams ever professed.<sup>91</sup> The *Valley Star* attacked the *Whig's* inconsistency in supporting McDowell in 1832 and confessing to have no fears of him on this question, but now assailing him for his opinion on abolition.<sup>92</sup> The *Whig* replied by saying that the question was at this time the "shameful hypocrisy of a portion of the Loco Foco party—their injustice to the Whig party—their treachery to the Southern people."<sup>93</sup> This was a weak reply to such glaring inconsistency. The matter, however, was settled by a northern clergyman paying Grey four hundred dollars for Latimer.<sup>94</sup>

After the Latimer case had been settled Governor McDowell devoted most of his time to internal improvements and education. Both the *Enquirer* and the *Whig* commented favorably upon his plans set forth in his messages. The former referred to the tax law of the last session of the Assembly as rendering great assistance in shielding the credit of the State from violation,<sup>95</sup> while the *Whig* criticised it, as it had not realized half of the sum anticipated.<sup>96</sup> McDowell not only advocated improvements but he spent much time in personal attention, traveling during the summer months over various parts of the State inspecting roads, proposed highways, shipyards and docks. Due to his influence much effort and money was expended in uniting the Ohio River with Richmond, but the well-conceived scheme failed, McDowell in a later message re-

<sup>90</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 138-139.

<sup>91</sup>*Richmond Whig*, January 5th and 6th, 1843.

<sup>92</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, December 17, 1842.

<sup>93</sup>*Richmond Whig*, January 9, 1843.

<sup>94</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 139.

<sup>95</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, December 5, 1843.

<sup>96</sup>*Richmond Whig*, December 5, 1843.



ferring to the Canal as, "That Serborian bog, in which vast millions were sunk."<sup>97</sup>

Nearly the whole of his message of 1844 was an appeal for internal improvement, and he invited attention to it as a leading though suffering, state interest.<sup>98</sup> In his message of 1845, Governor McDowell stated and discussed the chief topics of interest—education and internal improvements.<sup>99</sup> He showed the need of education in Virginia and advocated public education as a state duty, but the time was not ripe for his plans and several decades were to pass before the free school system became a state institution. In this same message he expressed his views on the Texas question.

This last message of Governor McDowell's received very favorable comment in the *Enquirer*, the editor alluding to it as "worthy of the Chief Magistrate of this proud old Commonwealth." He further congratulated him on his view of the Texas question.<sup>100</sup> The *Whig* approved his admirable and powerfully expressed views in favor of a convention to reform suffrage and representation, but it severely criticised him for bringing in Texas when he should have been discussing matters of business.<sup>101</sup>

An earnest Christian and an advocate of temperance, Governor McDowell remained true to his convictions and excluded wine and dancing from his private and public entertainments. The late Col. T. P. August, a lawyer of Richmond, it is said on one occasion offered as a toast, "Governor McDowell's two aids—lemon-ade and promen-ade."<sup>102</sup> "In every way he upheld the dignity of his high and responsible position. His ability was of superior order, and his grave and moderate course strengthened the influence which his intellectual power secured."<sup>103</sup>

<sup>97</sup>Washington and Lee Historical Papers, No. 5, pp. 136-138.

<sup>98</sup>Journal, House of Delegates (1844-45), p. 7.

<sup>99</sup>Journal, House of Delegates (1845-46), p. 7.

<sup>100</sup>Richmond Enquirer, December 2, 1845.

<sup>101</sup>Richmond Whig, December 6, 1845.

<sup>102</sup>Hardesty, *Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, pp. 378-9;

Brock, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, pp. 204-208.

<sup>103</sup>Smith, *The Governors of Virginia*, p. 359.





The period of McDowell's Governorship (1842-45) was one in which territorial expansion introduced new subjects into national politics. The first of these was the Texas question, made prominent by President Tyler in his course in regard to Texas, which failed to please the Whigs and conciliate the Democrats in Virginia. The treaty concluded with Texas on April 12, 1844, which he submitted to the Senate was defeated by Whig votes. Clay came out against annexation and later received the Whig nomination for the presidency.<sup>104</sup> Early in 1844 a movement was inaugurated in Virginia by Hunter and his friends to make Calhoun President in the fall of that year.<sup>105</sup> This move caused a split in the Democratic party. McDowell, who was now one of the most popular leaders in the whole State and in close touch with Benton, led the fight for Van Buren in the west.<sup>106</sup> He did not fight long, for Van Buren's letter to Hammett, of Mississippi, expressing himself as being opposed to the "re-annexation of Texas," which had come into prominence, came to Richmond on April 30, and he was repudiated by the Democrats of Virginia who were in favor of re-annexation.<sup>107</sup> On May 7, McDowell wrote to the Central Democratic Committee and informed them that it was impossible to carry western Virginia with Van Buren as the candidate. McDowell had been a zealous advocate of Van Buren, but when he yielded to the "abolition influence" on a question of such vital importance to the whole South, he felt constrained to "leave him to his fate." Asking the committee to select a man sound on the Texas question, he pledged himself to attend the Baltimore Convention and vote for whatever Texas man they might choose. As a result of all this Lewis Cass became the choice of the Virginia delegation.<sup>108</sup>

McDowell's term as Governor of Virginia had hardly expired when the representative from the 11th Congressional district of

<sup>104</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension* (Am. Nation Series, Vol. 17), pp. 109-123.

<sup>105</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, p. 233.

<sup>106</sup>Ambler, *Life of Thos. Ritchie*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>107</sup>Turner *Essays in American History*, pp. 193-203.

<sup>108</sup>Letter by McDowell to the Central Democratic Committee, May 7, 1844.



Virginia, Hon. Wm. Taylor, McDowell's brother-in-law, died.<sup>109</sup> At the Harrisonburg Convention, called immediately afterwards, McDowell was unanimously nominated to succeed Taylor.<sup>110</sup> "He is, in a word," said the *Rockingham Register*, "just such a man as will do honor to the 'Tenth Legion' district."<sup>111</sup>

Entering Congress on March 6, 1846,<sup>112</sup> McDowell was to remain for about five years until his death. In this lapse of time sectionalization and antagonism were to become rife over the question of slavery extension in the newly acquired territory. In fact, this issue demanded practically all of the time and interest of Congress until the Compromise of 1850, which only postponed it for a few years. Sitting in this Congress with McDowell were such men as J. Q. Adams of Massachusetts, Brinkerhoff of Ohio, Cobb of Georgia, Douglas of Illinois, Stephens of Georgia, and many others of like capacity.

His first appearance on the floor of the lower House in the capacity of a speaker was on May 8, 1846, when he defended in a forcible manner the bill to retrocede the county of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, to the State of Virginia, and he begged that the appeal of the people of Alexandria be answered.<sup>113</sup> This speech, as compared with many others, was called by the *Baltimore Patriot* of May 8, 1846—"an oasis in a desert."<sup>114</sup>

Being a most zealous advocate of war with Mexico he voted for the bill creating the office of Lieutenant-General,<sup>115</sup> formulated by Benton for his own benefit. His vote for this bill injured his chances of becoming a United States Senator, for Benton was not sent to Mexico.

Isaac Pennybacker, United States Senator from Virginia,

<sup>109</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 142.

<sup>110</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, February 10th and 17th, 1846.

<sup>111</sup>Reprinted in the *Richmond Enquirer*, February 11, 1846.

<sup>112</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Session, p. 463.

<sup>113</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Session, pp. 779-781.

<sup>114</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 143.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.



who had been elected by the Democratic Assembly of 1845-46 as the choice of the west to succeed Rives,<sup>116</sup> died January, 1847, and upon notification by the Senate to the House of his death McDowell delivered a beautiful eulogy and glowing tribute to him.<sup>117</sup>

In the meantime, a breach had occurred in the administration party in Virginia which was the result of the opposition of the Calhoun men to the war with Mexico. It was clearly evidenced in the election of a man by the Assembly to succeed Pennybacker, for the eastern Whigs united with the eastern Democrats to elect J. M. Mason over James McDowell, the choice of the administration party.<sup>118</sup> This was a keen disappointment to him, but he attributed his defeat to his stand for abolition in the slavery debate of 1831-1832 and his enthusiasm for War with Mexico.<sup>119</sup>

He was returned to Congress in 1847 because the people believed in his political honesty and integrity.<sup>120</sup> About one month before Congress convened he was stricken with paralysis, from which he recovered sufficiently to take his seat in Congress, but never completely.<sup>121</sup> The only speech delivered by him in this session (1847-48) which is worthy of note was a memorial to J. Q. Adams, who had been stricken on the floor of the House, dying soon afterwards.<sup>122</sup>

During the Mexican War it was foreseen that a cession on the part of Mexico would mean the extension of slavery, and it very naturally created an opposition to acquisitions in the Southwest. As the war continued an issue was made up which shortly afterwards became the basis of a new political organization. The process of party reorganization with slavery as the main issue can be traced through the whole War, the first phase of which was the struggle over the Wilmot Proviso, an attempt to shut slavery out of the Southwest. The occasion from which it arose was Polk's scheme for the acquisition of California and New Mexico by a boundary re-

<sup>116</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, p. 235.

<sup>117</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 29th Cong., 2nd Session, p. 170.

<sup>118</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>119</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, p. 145.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 149-152.

<sup>122</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st Session, p. 386.





adjustment. Whenever this Proviso was introduced as an amendment to a bill or resolution, the two parties always tried to avert expressing their views on it. It proved a stumbling block to both political parties, as is shown by the refusal of the Democrats in their convention to condemn it and the Whigs in their convention of the same year to approve it.<sup>123</sup>

General Taylor, the Whig nominee, was able to carry the election chiefly because Van Buren broke with the Democratic party and wreaked vengeance on Cass, the Democratic nominee, by running as the candidate of the "Free-Soilers."<sup>124</sup>

Polk, in his message to Congress in December, 1848, urged the organization of territorial governments for the recently acquired territories of California and New Mexico. He really favored statehood for California and a territorial government for New Mexico. Many others, however, brought up the question as to the legal status and prospective existence of slavery, for in much of the territory acquired slavery had been abolished by Mexican law.<sup>125</sup>

When the bill on the formation of one or more states out of the Territories of New Mexico and California came up McDowell, although speaking when another bill was before the House, delivered on February 23, 1849, one of the greatest and most impressive speeches of his life. In supporting the bill he said that the country was in imminent peril and showed that Congress had the constitutional power to avert it. Quoting from Madison he said, "The right of Congress to control the territories being given from the necessity of the case and in suspension of the great principle of self-government, ought not to be extended further, nor continued longer than the occasion might fairly require." As a plan of "mediation and peace" with no connection with any sectional interest or feeling had been offered he entreated them to work together as patriotic men, for the work was a work of all for all.

In reply to the charge that the "slave power" was prevent-

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<sup>123</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension* (Am. Nation Series, Vol. 17), pp. 254-268.

<sup>124</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension* (Am. Nation Series, Vol. 17), pp. 269-284.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 295-308.



ing the free action of the government, he recited most impassionately the acts of "beneficent legislation" by which the great slave states had restricted the spread of slavery and the continuation of the slave traffic. The main argumentative proposition of his speech was that the North was entirely mistaken in supposing that the extension of slavery would tend to its increase, and he supported the statement, "that not a single human being has been made a slave by the 'extension,' who would not have been one—necessarily and inevitably one—had such extension never taken place."

Seeing that his own State was as deeply implicated in the trouble and danger of the controversy as any other, he asked, "what, in this exigent moment to Virginia, will Massachusetts do?" Then with surpassing power and eloquence he reminded Massachusetts of what Virginia did in the matter of the Boston Port Bill and said that Virginia made her (Massachusetts') cause her own and shed her blood to support it. His time being up at this point, he was about to conclude when cries resounded all over the House, "Go on! Go on!" The committee consented unanimously and he proceeded. This was an unprecedented thing. McDowell then pleaded for a staying of the very beginnings of the family quarrel in order to prevent the downward destiny of the nation. He closed with the same words with which he had concluded his "West Augusta" speech at Princeton. He could have selected no more fitting conclusion.<sup>126</sup>

This speech received most favorable comment. The editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* called it, "The greatest speech of these latter days," and in a five-page review complimented the simplicity of its materials, its unaffected sincerity, and its moderation. He also praised it as a check to the deterioration of public oratory.<sup>127</sup>

Although the Wilmot Proviso became inoperative when California came in as a State, it was brought up again when the territorial government of Utah and New Mexico was under

<sup>126</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd Session, Appendix, pp. 212-219.

<sup>127</sup>*Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 15, pp. 255-259.





consideration.<sup>128</sup> McDowell hesitated for a long time before he spoke, but on September 3, 1850, he addressed the House at length in opposition to the Proviso, which he termed a destroyer of "all equality between the citizens of the slaveholding and free States," and said that it could be insisted upon only by disregarding the spirit and purpose of the compact between them. He begged Congress "to relieve the South from the flagitious wrong which the Proviso threatens against her."<sup>129</sup> This speech was no less effective than any of his others.

McDowell, who had been in poor health ever since he had suffered a stroke of paralysis now began to decline in health rapidly and the strain of a daughter's illness and death and work in Congress proved fatal to him. He accompanied his daughter's remains to Lexington, but was exhausted by the trip. Rallying from this exertion, he lived through most of the summer, yet suffered greatly.<sup>130</sup> He died on Sunday, August 24, 1851.<sup>131</sup> His funeral was attended by many who appreciated his association in their public affairs. Washington College sent a representation and the Virginia Military Institute was represented by its corps of cadets led by Commandant, Thomas J. Jackson.<sup>132</sup>

Newspapers of all political creeds eulogized his high character and faithful public service. The *National Intelligencer*, of Washington, said, "A nobler gentleman, a more upright man, a truer patriot, never graced his State."<sup>133</sup>

As a writer of Virginia history and politics has said that James McDowell was one of the few prominent leaders of the west who ever lived down the part they took in the Slavery Debate of 1831-32, it seems that a truer statement could not be made after a study of McDowell's life. He was known far and wide to be a gentleman of polished education, a learned

<sup>128</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension* (Am. Nation Series, Vol. 17), pp. 328-330.

<sup>129</sup>*Cong. Globe*. 31st Cong., 1st Session, Appendix, pp. 1678-1685.

<sup>130</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 186-188.

<sup>131</sup>Hardesty, *Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, p. 379.

<sup>132</sup>*Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, No. 5, pp. 188-189.

<sup>133</sup>*National Intelligencer*, August 23, 1851.



scholar, an orator of commanding and impressive eloquence, second to none, and a man of high character. Consistent, ever true to his convictions and principles, he labored faithfully for the interests of both State and nation, always aiding enterprises for the betterment of humanity. James McDowell, a warm patriot and devoted friend of Virginia, who was true to all of the duties of a citizen, the instincts of a gentleman, and the responsibilities of a Christian, may well be numbered among Virginia's illustrious sons and called her second Patrick Henry.



## JAMES BARBOUR.\*

W. S. Long, A. B.

The period from 1815 to 1845 has been well named one of nationality and democracy,<sup>1</sup> since the progress of these forces stands out pre-eminently as the great work of this time. The second war with Great Britain had kindled the whole country into a new flame of national patriotism.<sup>2</sup> Transportation was revolutionized by the introduction of the steamboat and by the development of canals and turnpikes. The factory system, nourished by the restrictions of the Embargo and war, developed rapidly. The expansion of cotton planting transformed the activities of the South, and turned them into the newer regions of the Gulf, and gave a new life to the decaying institution of negro slavery. A stream of immigrants began to pour into the new lands of the West, and there, among the rough and healthful conditions of pioneer life, democracy arose in a society in which strong manhood was the basis of equality. This restless spirit soon began to react upon the older states through those strong western leaders who looked upon government, not as an evil, but as an instrument for good, and with the rise of their influence, the day of nationalism began to dawn. But then the interests of sections clashed. The tariff enabled manufacturers of the North to grow rich, while the farmers of Virginia and the South were being impoverished. The tariff collected money from them which Congress now wished to spend for internal improvements. John Randolph of Roanoke, Spencer Roane, John Taylor of Caroline, and others began a determined fight against these loose construction tendencies, and a great popular reaction followed their lead.<sup>3</sup> Then as the nation tended to sink back into the old ruts of particularism, the majority of the old Republican party held out for a still stricter interpretation of the Constitution and called themselves the National-Democratic party. But the still

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\*The Bennett History Medal was awarded the writer of this essay.

<sup>1</sup>Ashley, *Federal State*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Babcock, *American Nationality*, Chapters IX to XVIII.

<sup>3</sup>Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 4.





powerful minority broke away from this attitude and under the leadership of Clay, united to form the National-Republican party, afterwards called Whig.<sup>4</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that the old Republican party had not always been consistent in their advocacy of state rights. The purchase of Louisiana, in 1801, under Jefferson, and the United States Bank, and the Tariff Acts of 1816 under Madison, made it, in fact, strongly nationalistic.<sup>5</sup> At this time, however, new issues were appearing which were to draw a sharp line through the old party, showing some men committed definitely to a policy of nationalism, and turning some who had favored the policies of 1816 back to the extremer tenets of the old-time faith. There were many causes for this division into loose and strict constructionists. Sectionalism was a main cause; the injection of the personality of Andrew Jackson into the presidential contests of 1824 and 1828 was another cause; and the birth of organized politics under Martin Van Buren, Thomas Ritchie and others, played its own large share.

This was the period which was to claim the best energies of James Barbour. His unselfish devotion of these energies carried him too far beyond his fellows in Virginia to permit any return upon the crest of this reaction, and when his maturer wisdom might have helped them most, his fellow citizens mistook this stand for principle, for a desertion of their interests, and in return, deserted him. It is hard to reconcile the hot defender of the Virginia Resolutions of 1799 with the man who later in the Senate voted for the bank bill, the bill for internal improvements, and the tariff, and who, still later, endorsed the nationalistic policy of John Quincy Adams. But if any defense be necessary at all, we can surely point to the respective changes of Calhoun and Webster, and Barbour stands in good company indeed.

He was born at Barboursville, in Orange County, June 10, 1775,<sup>6</sup> only twenty miles from the home of Jefferson and one year before the pen of Jefferson recorded our Declaration of

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<sup>4</sup>Ashley, *Federal State*, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>*The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. V, p. 446.



Independence. Madison lived only a few miles away and attended the church of which Thomas Barbour, father of James, was vestryman.<sup>7</sup>

James Barbour's ancestry was very honorable. There are many legendary accounts of the founding of this family in Virginia, some of them conflicting, and many of them improbable.<sup>7a</sup> What seems to be the most reliable account however, is the following extract from an autograph note in the Bible of Gov. James Barbour: "The farthest back I have been able to trace with any certainty, is my great-grandfather, James Barbour, who came to this country from Scotland, in the latter half of the 17th Century. He came in the character of a merchantman, and was wrecked on his first adventure. His friends, as stated by tradition, being rich, furnished him with another cargo which he turned to a profitable account, in (I believe) the county of King and Queen. He had issue, only one son, whom he called after himself, James, who married Sarah Todd, of a most respectable family. My grandfather's prospects in life were considerably shattered by the second marriage of his mother, by which a second son was born who by some means obtained control of the whole Barbour estate, and squandered it. James then left the home of his childhood, and went to Culpeper county, near the end of the first quarter of the 18th Century, being the first settler of the country lying between the eastern base of the Blue Ridge and the Southwest Mountains. Here he lived, died, and was buried."<sup>8</sup> He was a vestryman of St. Mark's Parish at its organization

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<sup>7</sup>*Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 90.

<sup>7a</sup>Note.—All accounts agree that the founder of the Virginia family was Scotch. Some trace this ancestry back to a William Barbour, said to have been a younger son of the Baron of Mulderg. Other accounts point to John Barbour, the Scottish poet, and author of "The Bruce" (see Green, *Notes on Culpeper*, Part II, p. 135, and Peter, *U. S. Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. XVI). The name is rendered *Barber* in the State Land Reports, and from a seal ring lately in their possession, the arms displayed are those of the family in Staffordshire, England: Gules three mullets, argent, with a bordure ermine. Crest: A passion cross on three steps: Gules. The motto: "*Nihilo nisi Cruce*," seems to indicate an origin in the days of the Crusaders. (See Hardesty, *Virginia and Virginians*. Vol. I, p. 114.)

<sup>8</sup>Green, *Notes on Culpeper*, Part II, p. 135.





in 1731.<sup>9</sup> He appears as a grantee of lands in St. George's Parish, Spottsylvania county, June 26, 1731, and again in 1733, in St. Mark's Parish of the same county.<sup>10</sup> He was presiding justice of the Culpeper Court in 1764, and died in 1775 in Culpeper county. His widow Sarah, a second wife, died in 1781. Their wills are both recorded in Culpeper county, and show them both possessed of large estates.<sup>11</sup> They left five sons and four daughters, of whom Thomas Barbour, father of Gov. James Barbour, was the second son. He married Mary Pendleton Thomas of Orange county. He was a member of the House of Burgesses from Orange county, and signed the Non-Importation Act of 1769. In 1775, he was a member of the "Committee of Public Safety" for Orange county.<sup>12</sup> After the formation of the Union he was a member of the Virginia Legislature. Then Richard Henry Lee, in a letter to his brother, Arthur Lee, wrote that he was glad that Thomas Barbour was in the state councils, "For he is a truly intelligent and patriotic man."<sup>13</sup>

Such was the stock from which sprang this race of statesmen, and during the period from 1821 to 1825, a time when Clay, Webster, Rufus King, Nathaniel Macon, and Pinkney of Maryland made our national legislature a wrestling place for giants, we find our James Barbour one of the acknowledged leaders of the Senate, while his brother, Philip Pendleton, and their second cousin, John S. Barbour, were prominent members of the lower House.<sup>14</sup>

In James Barbour we have an example of that inherent

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<sup>9</sup>Note—This extract, in all its details, is borne out by a number of other authentic accounts. (See Hardesty, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, p. 113; and Peter, *U. S. Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. XVI).

<sup>10</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 321.

<sup>11</sup>Green, *Notes on Culpeper*, Part II, p. 136.

<sup>12</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 321.

<sup>13</sup>Green, *Notes on Culpeper*, Part II, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup>Note.—Prof. Turner says that, "In December of 1821, Barbour, of Virginia, was chosen speaker [of the House of Representatives] by a close vote." (See Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 195.) This Barbour is indexed as "James Barbour" (*Ibid.*, p. 354.) Here James Barbour has been confused with his brother Philip P. Barbour, who was chosen Speaker at that time. (See *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VII, p. 216, and *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 518.)



genius which can rise to eminence without the regular education so necessary in our own time.<sup>15</sup> Very little is known about his boyhood and early education. However, James Waddell, commemorated as the "Blind Preacher" by William Wirt, taught school for a while at his home near Gordonsville, and James Barbour studied for a short time, under him there.<sup>16</sup> While still very young, he served as Deputy Sheriff in his county, and during this time, he read enough law to gain his admission to the bar in 1794,<sup>17</sup> when he was only nineteen years old! On October 29, 1792, he married Lucy Johnson, daughter of Benjamin Johnson of Orange county, a member of the House of Burgesses.<sup>17a</sup>

In 1796, young James Barbour was elected to the Virginia Assembly<sup>18</sup> and soon gained the respect of the older members, both for his excellent judgment and for the fluency with which he expressed his opinions. In 1798, the famous Virginia Resolutions, which Jefferson had inspired Madison to write, were proposed in the House of Delegates. The discussion continued over into the next session, and then James Barbour entered

<sup>15</sup>It has been claimed that James Barbour was a junior at William and Mary College with Robt. B. Taylor and Cabell, and that John Randolph of Roanoke joined this Class when it was Senior. (See *Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 146.) However, it is certain that John Randolph of Roanoke left William and Mary College in the spring of 1784. (See *National Encyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 97, and Garland, "*John Randolph of Roanoke*", Vol. 1, p. 22.) This would have made James Barbour a Junior at William and Mary College in 1783, when he was eight years old.

A similar mistake may be noticed in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. VII, p. 5, where we find, in a list of Governors of Virginia from 1776 to 1861, with the places of their education:

"James Barbour, 1812-14, Private Schools."

On page 8 of this volume in a list of U. S. Senators from 1789 to 1860 with the places of their education, we find:

"James Barbour, 1815-1825, William and Mary College."

It is very likely that James Barbour has also in this last case been confused with his brother P. P. Barbour, who did attend William and Mary College.

<sup>16</sup>Scott, *History of Orange County*, p. 127; Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 321; Hardesty, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.; *The National Encyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 446; Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 321.

<sup>17a</sup>Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>18</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, Session of 1796-97, p. 1.



the lists in support of them with his usual impetuous eloquence.<sup>19</sup> Although he was the youngest man in the House, he was one of the foremost in denouncing the odious laws which had called forth the resolutions, and his speech was considered the most effective that was delivered.<sup>20</sup> On January 1, 1801, he was appointed on a committee to confer with a committee from the Senate on these resolutions.<sup>21</sup> In these debates, we find a beginning of that able advocacy of the rights of the States which he maintained until continued service in a larger sphere and an experience in the national administration brought a conviction that the whole is greater than its parts. From this time on, until his election as Governor, in 1812, the name of James Barbour appears on all of the most important committees, frequently as chairman. He proposed the "Anti-Duelling Act," one of the most stringent legislative acts ever passed.<sup>22</sup> In 1800, he was chairman of a committee<sup>23</sup> which prepared a bill "To simplify the mode of procedure in real actions."<sup>24</sup> In May of 1807, he served on the grand jury which indicted Aaron Burr.<sup>25</sup> What he evidently considered his most important work in the Assembly was the bill which became the Act of February 2, 1810, and provided for the Literary Fund of Virginia.<sup>25a</sup> He later requested that reference to this be the only inscription on his tomb.<sup>26</sup> He served repeatedly as Speaker of the House of Delegates, and received much praise for the able manner in which he presided over that body.

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<sup>19</sup>Hardesty, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, p. 115.

<sup>20</sup>*Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. XVIII.

<sup>21</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, Session of 1800-01, Jan. 1, 1801.

<sup>22</sup>Hardesty, *Virginia and Virginians*, Vol. I, p. 115.

<sup>23</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, Session of 1800-01, Dec. 2.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, p. 77.

<sup>25a</sup>Note.—See *Report of the Second Auditor of Virginia on the Condition of the Public Debt, of the Literary Fund, and Retired Teachers Fund*, fiscal year, ending September 30, 1912, p. 52; also (Virginia) *Acts of the Assembly of 1809*, p. 15; also Scott, *History of Orange County, Virginia*, p. 182. It has been strenuously denied that Governor Barbour was the originator of this Fund. But on the strength of this evidence, I have felt justified in stating that he was, as he himself claimed. (See Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 325).

<sup>26</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 325.





On the night of December 26, 1811, an event occurred which threw Virginia into mourning and cast a gloom over all the country. The Richmond Theatre, in Richmond, caught fire and many of Virginia's best people were burned. Among them were Gov. George William Smith and his family.<sup>27</sup> On Friday, January 3, 1812, the Legislature met and elected James Barbour, then Speaker of the House of Delegates, Governor of Virginia.<sup>28</sup> On the next day, Andrew Stevenson was elected to succeed him as Speaker.<sup>29</sup>

On February 11th, Gov. Barbour sent a message to the Legislature asking for an appropriation for the defense of Virginia, in case of a war with Great Britain.<sup>30</sup> On March 31st he wrote to the commandants of regiments that it was the duty of Virginia to be in a state of defense. He then called upon them to use every means in their power to be prepared in case of war.<sup>31</sup> In this way he earned his title of "The War Governor." It was a trying period upon men in authority, but Gov. Barbour never faltered, and was said even to have pledged his personal means to sustain the credit of his State.<sup>32</sup> By July 4th, of this year, the feeling in Virginia against England ran so high that the customary celebrations were much more enthusiastic even than usual. The Governor reviewed the Richmond and Manchester troops, and at a dinner which followed, Capt. Heth proposed the Toast, "The Governor, our Commander-in-Chief, may his military genius equal his ardor in the cause." To which he replied, "Unanimity in our councils, and a hearty co-operation in the field will place America beyond her present conflict."<sup>33</sup> The martial Governor was evidently not well pleased with the selfish attitude of New England in denouncing the War. Similar meetings were held all over the state and the zeal of the Governor was everywhere the subject of sincere toasts. On the fifth of May, in

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<sup>27</sup>Christlan, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>*The Virginia Patriot*, Vol. III, January, 1812.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, February 11, 1812.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, March 31, 1812.

<sup>32</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 324.

<sup>33</sup>*The Virginia Patriot*, Vol. III, July 4, 1812.



response to an order by President Madison, Gov. Barbour issued an order, calling for four divisions of militia, each to number 1,000 men. On November 30, he sent a message to the Legislature, avowing his zeal for state rights, and defending his course. He then called attention to the fact that a larger sum of money should be left to the discretion of the Executive. He recommended that the upper James be explored, and if possible, connected with the western waters. He recommended, also, that our roads be improved, and then that the Legislature of Virginia should establish a great Literary Institution, equal to the State.<sup>34</sup> This course was approved December 2nd with a formal re-election as Governor. This last administration was as acceptable as the first, and on the first of December, 1814, he was elected by the Legislature to succeed Richard Brent in the United States Senate.<sup>35</sup>

On the eleventh day of January, 1815, James Barbour produced his credentials, was qualified and took his seat in the Senate.<sup>36</sup> On the 19th of January, we find him with Rufus King and Wm. B. Giles opposing the amendments to the bank charter bill. "Mr. Barbour, particularly, in an eloquent manner, enforced the necessity of acting decisively on a subject which had been so long pending between the two Houses, and which so greatly interested the feelings of the community, which 'turned its eyes with ceaseless anxiety upon the dilatory proceedings of Congress.' " The amendments were lost by a vote of 21 to 13. The bill then was passed, and vetoed by President Madison.<sup>37</sup> It was then brought again before Congress, for passage over the President's veto, and Barbour voted nay.<sup>38</sup> But in a few days Barbour himself proposed (presumably at the instigation of Calhoun) a new bill to recharter the Bank of the United States. This bank was to be much larger than the old one. The capital was to be \$50,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 were to be in treasury notes, and the government was to subscribe \$10,000,000. It was to have the

<sup>34</sup>*The Virginia Patriot*, Vol. III, November 30, 1812.

<sup>35</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 324.

<sup>36</sup>*Annals of Congress*, Vol. III, p. 166 (13th Con. 2nd Sess.)

<sup>37</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. V, p. 304.

<sup>38</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. V, p. 305.





capacity of borrowing \$30,000,000. His bill passed.<sup>39</sup> The next year, we find him voting for Calhoun's famous "Bonus Bill," which his brother, P. P. Barbour, opposed so strenuously in the House.<sup>40</sup> These were his early departures from the old principle of states rights. Although he supported these measures, our champion of the Virginia Resolutions had not entirely forsaken his old-time faith.

Just at this time, an incident occurred which may have had much to do with the future of James Barbour. He brought in a resolution directing President Monroe to present a sword to Col. R. M. Johnson of Kentucky, as a token of the thanks of Congress and of the nation for his gallant conduct in the battle of the Thames, October 13, 1813. In a splendid speech, he showed how the difficulties, which had caused the testimonial to be withheld, could be removed, and then he described the battle, and the manner in which Johnson killed Tecumseh, with such telling effect, that the resolution passed unanimously.<sup>41</sup> It is worthy of note that from this time until the end of Barbour's service in the Senate, he and Johnson were the best of friends, and their names seldom appear on different sides of any question. When John Quincy Adams was elected President, Johnson, who had been one of his most consistent supporters, requested strongly that James Barbour be given a place in the Cabinet.<sup>42</sup> In a few days after this, Barbour, as chairman of the committee on foreign relations, reported a bill closing the ports of the United States to British vessels engaged in the West India trade.<sup>43</sup> Following this very closely, he championed the cause of Matthew Lyons who had peti-

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<sup>39</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. V, p. 309.

Note.—In the Presidential Campaign of 1840, when Barbour supported General W. H. Harrison, he was condemned for his support of this, "Balloon Bank." It may be interesting, however, to note that, even as late as December, 1819, Judge Spencer Roane, that prince of advocates for the rights of the states, wrote to Barbour, and advised him to "submit to the Bank of the United States, for the present, unconstitutional as it is." (See *William and Mary College Quarterly* Vol. X, p. 8).

<sup>40</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. V, p. 665.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 45.

<sup>42</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VI, p. 509.

<sup>43</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 47.



tioned Congress for a remission of the fines imposed upon him under the odious sedition act of the first Adams administration. Lyons, personally, was very unpopular, but his case involved the old question which had done so much at the polls for the Republican party in 1800. It very likely reminded Barbour of his youthful fight in the Virginia Assembly. So he made a brilliant speech, denying that the unpopularity of Lyons should be held as an objection to his case, and claiming that they merely had to pass upon the constitutional question involved; that "The law was unconstitutional, and Congress ought to say so, and repair the damages made under color of its authority."<sup>44</sup> In December of this year (1819), Barbour, as chairman of the committee to which it was referred, submitted a long statement of the case, coupled with a resolution declaring that the law was unconstitutional, and asking for a committee to report a bill to that effect. The proposition failed by a few votes.<sup>45</sup>

James Barbour was now rising rapidly to that leadership which his talents so well justified. It was an important time. Sectional jealousies between the North and South had never before been so keen. The admission of Alabama as a slave state swung the balance of representation in Congress to a dead center, with eleven slave states and eleven free.<sup>46</sup> Then Missouri, a slave territory, applied for permission to form a constitution and state government. This threatened a turn in the balance, a turn which seemed to statesmen of the North more serious than ever before because they thought this their last chance to stop the progress of slavery. To them it seemed inevitable, that in the industrial scramble for the conquest of the West, the slaveowner with his slaves must surely triumph over the free laborers working as individuals. They seemed to see, in the future, the whole Louisiana Territory converted into an area of slave states.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the South had even larger cause for fear. Population in the North had

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<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 185 to 188.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 660.

<sup>46</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup>Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 155.





increased over that in the South, until in 1819, the eleven northern states could muster 105 votes in the House, against only 81 for the eleven slave states of the South.<sup>48</sup> This majority was spurred on to increased hostility to slavery by that tide of free labor which was pushing into the West, and demanding lands where freemen would not need to work in competition with slaves. But this hostility was held in check by the Senate, where each state had only two votes. So that if the North were ever to abolish slavery it would be necessary to obtain control of the Senate. Thus, there the contest centered, and there the South for years, fought with a surpassing power and eloquence for what then seemed the very basis of her economic existence. Indeed, statesmen of the South were far superior in intellectual powers to those from the free states of the North.<sup>49</sup> It was recognized both in the North and South, that slavery itself was largely responsible for this superiority. Thus we find as one of the strange tricks which fate sometimes plays, that the system which was driven by persecution to a desperate defense had itself provided the possibility for the development of defenders, whose eloquence and political genius harked back for comparison to the best that Greece and Rome had produced. Nowhere was this more evident than in Virginia. The "Virginia Dynasty" had not depended entirely upon the large number of electoral votes which Virginia could deliver. Hers was a sheer intellectual domination, supported by wealthy planters who lived upon their estates, and who, in the leisure which slavery afforded, reveled in well-stocked libraries, and studied the science of government until it became an instinct and a passion. In Virginia, plain little courthouses became the arenas of giant contests over simple points at law, and the halls of her Legislature rang unceasingly with resistless reasoning which flowed in a strange and fiery eloquence. Such was the environment of the men who were to fight for the South, and among them James Barbour was a giant indeed.

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<sup>48</sup>Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 154.

<sup>49</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. IV, p. 306.





At the close of the 15th Congress, the Senate had "Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of the Senate be presented to the Honorable James Barbour, for the dignified and impartial manner in which he has discharged the important duties of President of the Senate since he was called to the Chair."<sup>50</sup> At a dinner, during this session, his republicanism had offended the decorous John Quincy Adams, who confided to his Diary, that "He [James Barbour] was a man of affected pomposity of speech, full of prejudices and dogmatism, and of commonplace exaggeration of Republicanism."<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, on January 16, of the next year (1820) we find this entry in Adams' Diary: "With the single exception of Rufus King, of New York, there is not, in either House of Congress, a member from the free states able to cope, in powers of mind, with William Pinkney, or James Barbour."<sup>52</sup> This change of opinion is significant, and carries with it high praise indeed. Barbour was now ready to take high ground. His ability was recognized, and an opportunity was waiting to give to it its fullest expression.

When the 16th Congress convened, about the first business was the disposal of the Missouri question. In the meantime, expecting the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and determined to preserve the old balance, Massachusetts had given to that part of her territory which is now Maine, permission to form a constitution and apply for admission to the Union, if that could be effected before March 4th, of the next year.<sup>53</sup> Accordingly Maine drew up a constitution, and applied for admission without the preliminary form of asking the permission of Congress.<sup>54</sup> The North now had an opportunity to

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<sup>50</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 199.

<sup>51</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

Note.—Mr. Barbour had maintained that an American Ambassador at a foreign court should present himself in frock coat and metal buttons, and if he were not well received, should retire in indignation, and carry on all further business by correspondence. However, Mr. Barbour is not recorded as having done this when he actually became our ambassador to England.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 506.

<sup>53</sup>Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 160-161.

<sup>54</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 77.



gain two new states with four anti-slave Senators, if Missouri could be admitted as a free state. Or if this were not possible, they would deadlock Missouri, and get Maine in, thus gaining a majority of two votes. They had a majority in the House, and succeeded in passing Taylor's amendment to restrict slavery in Missouri. When the bill came to the Senate thus amended, the hopes for the South were small. Little objection could be raised to the admission of Maine, and if that state were admitted, her two Senators would decide the deadlock in favor of the amendment to restrict slavery in Missouri. The only way to prevent this lay by way of a parliamentary trick, and accordingly, on the third of January, 1820, James Barbour rose at his seat, and served notice that he would on Wednesday, the 5th, offer a motion to couple the bill to admit Maine with the one to admit Missouri.<sup>55</sup> The motion came in due time.<sup>56</sup> The next day, Mr. Roberts, of Pennsylvania, objected to this coupling of the two bills, and moved that the bill be recommitted with instructions to the committee to separate the two, and report Maine in a distinct bill as it came from the other house.

Then a memorable debate followed. Mr. Barbour spoke at some length against the proposition to separate the bills; defended the right of Missouri to statehood, and admitted that Maine had an equal right; but denied that her haste in adopting a constitution, without the consent of Congress, could give her any claim on the Senate, or that the forbearance of Missouri should be held to make her any the less worthy of statehood than Maine. The proposition failed by a vote of 25 to 18.<sup>57</sup> Then the fight began in real earnest. Mellen and Roberts of Pennsylvania, King of New York, and the two senators from Massachusetts supported the House amendment to restrict, and opposed the Senate proposition to couple the two bills. But at no time has southern talent shone more conspicuously. Nathaniel Macon began with a wonderfully telling argument, and he was ably supported by William

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<sup>55</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 81; *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 425.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 386.





Pinkney, the new Senator from Maryland, with one of the most eloquent speeches which had ever been delivered before the Senate.<sup>58</sup> Then James Barbour entered the fight and fully justified the high tribute which Adams had paid him.

After a further statement of the points at issue, he showed that the South had always supported every proposition to suppress the slave trade. He said that the South did not wish now to multiply the number of slaves, but to spread them over a larger area; that the real question was, "Shall we violate the Constitution by imposing restrictions upon the people of Missouri while exercising the great privilege of forming their government; shall we violate the solemn obligations imposed by treaty? And shall we finally do an act of immeasurable injustice in excluding the people of one-half the republic from participating in that country, bought by a common treasure, and their exclusive councils?<sup>59</sup> And for what? Not to diminish slavery, but to confine it within its present limits. . . . To seduce the white population from this portion of the country, thus interdicted. . . . To drive us from the country, and surrender it exclusively to the blacks. . . . The Constitution has not authorized the exercise of such a power directly, and there is nothing in it to justify such an exercise by implication, if implication were allowable. . . . If then it be true that your discretion, even as to admission is limited, and in the present case all the constituent qualifications exist on the part of Missouri for statehood, you are bound to say that she shall be admitted as a state into this Union. If she be admitted as a state, all the attributes of the old states instantly devolve upon her, and the most prominent of these is the right to fashion her govern-

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<sup>58</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 84.

<sup>59</sup>Note.—Later in his speech he explained that by "Their exclusive councils" he meant that, a Southern envoy (Monroe) had bargained for the Louisiana Territory; that a Southern President (Jefferson) had approved the bargain; that a Senate, controlled by southerners had ratified the treaty; and that a house of representatives entirely controlled by southerners had appropriated the purchase money, all in the face of the violent partisan protests of senators and representatives from that same section which was then trying to monopolize this same territory with a partisan control.



ment according to the will and the pleasure of the good people of that state. Whereas your restriction deprives them of that privilege forever." Then after defending the moral issue involved, he exclaimed: "Sir, no portion of the Union has been more loyal than the South! Is this your reward for our loyalty? Sir, there is a point where resistance becomes a virtue, and submission a crime. . . . Our people are as brave as they are loyal. They can endure anything but insult. But the moment you pass *that* Rubicon, they will redeem their much abused character, and throw back upon you your insolence and your aggression."<sup>60</sup>

It is not necessary to comment upon this speech. In it he had graphically stated the whole position of the South, and he had added a fire to southern arguments which Pinkney alone could intensify. His motion to couple the two bills had made it impossible for the North to secure the admission of Maine in time to have her two senators vote upon the admission of Missouri. The sanction of Massachusetts for the statehood of Maine held good only until March the fourth. Further delay would have been foolish for the North, and they saw that a compromise was inevitable, although the movement had gone too far for the House to recede entirely. The amendment to restrict failed by a vote of 27 to 16.<sup>61</sup> The motion to unite the two bills then passed by a vote of 23 to 21.<sup>62</sup> Mr. Barbour then moved that the Senate insist on this first clause of its amendments, and it was carried.<sup>63</sup> Then Messrs. Thomas, Barbour, and Pinkney were elected a committee to confer with a committee from the House, which was led by Mr. Clay.<sup>64</sup>

During this time, excitement in Virginia reached an alarming pitch. The motion to couple the two bills was practically

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<sup>60</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 425.

<sup>61</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 425. 'r

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 450.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 452.

<sup>64</sup>Note.—This conference agreed on the famous Missouri Compromise, by which slavery was to be permitted in Missouri, but excluded forever from the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30' north latitude. (See Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 87.)





the only way to prevent restriction in Missouri. But on the same day that Barbour served notice of his intention to offer this motion, he received a letter from President Monroe, strongly advising him against the plan, and recommending that they admit Maine at once, thus throwing the South helpless upon the charity of the North.<sup>65</sup> That Mr. Barbour did not follow this advice, has already been shown. On February 9th a caucus of the Virginia Assembly was held to nominate Presidential electors. Just as they came together, a report got out that Mr. Charles Yancey, a leading member, had just received an interesting letter from Senator Barbour, on the President's position. Yancey at last yielded to the cries about him, and read the letter to them. Immediately an intense excitement prevailed, and so indignant were they all with Mr. Monroe that the caucus broke up without making any nomination.<sup>66</sup>

Then news came to Virginia that a compromise was impending, and when the nature of this compromise was understood, the excitement increased beyond all bounds. On February 11th, Harry St. George Tucker wrote Barbour that the South thought that President Monroe was afraid of losing his re-election, and was thus trying to play to the North, but that the South was unwilling to purchase his services at such a price.<sup>67</sup> On February 19th, Judge Spencer Roane wrote to the same effect.<sup>68</sup> On February 14th, ex-President Madison wrote to Barbour from Montpelier, and advised him under the conditions to yield to the compromise.<sup>69</sup> But following this closely came letters from Andrew Stevenson, Charles Yancey, Thomas Ritchie, Judge Roane, W. F. Gordon, Linn Banks, and others, all telling him of the tremendous opposition in Virginia to any compromise whatsoever; all complimenting the magnificent fight which he had made for the South, and all assuring him of their unchanged affection and support.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>*William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6 to 10.

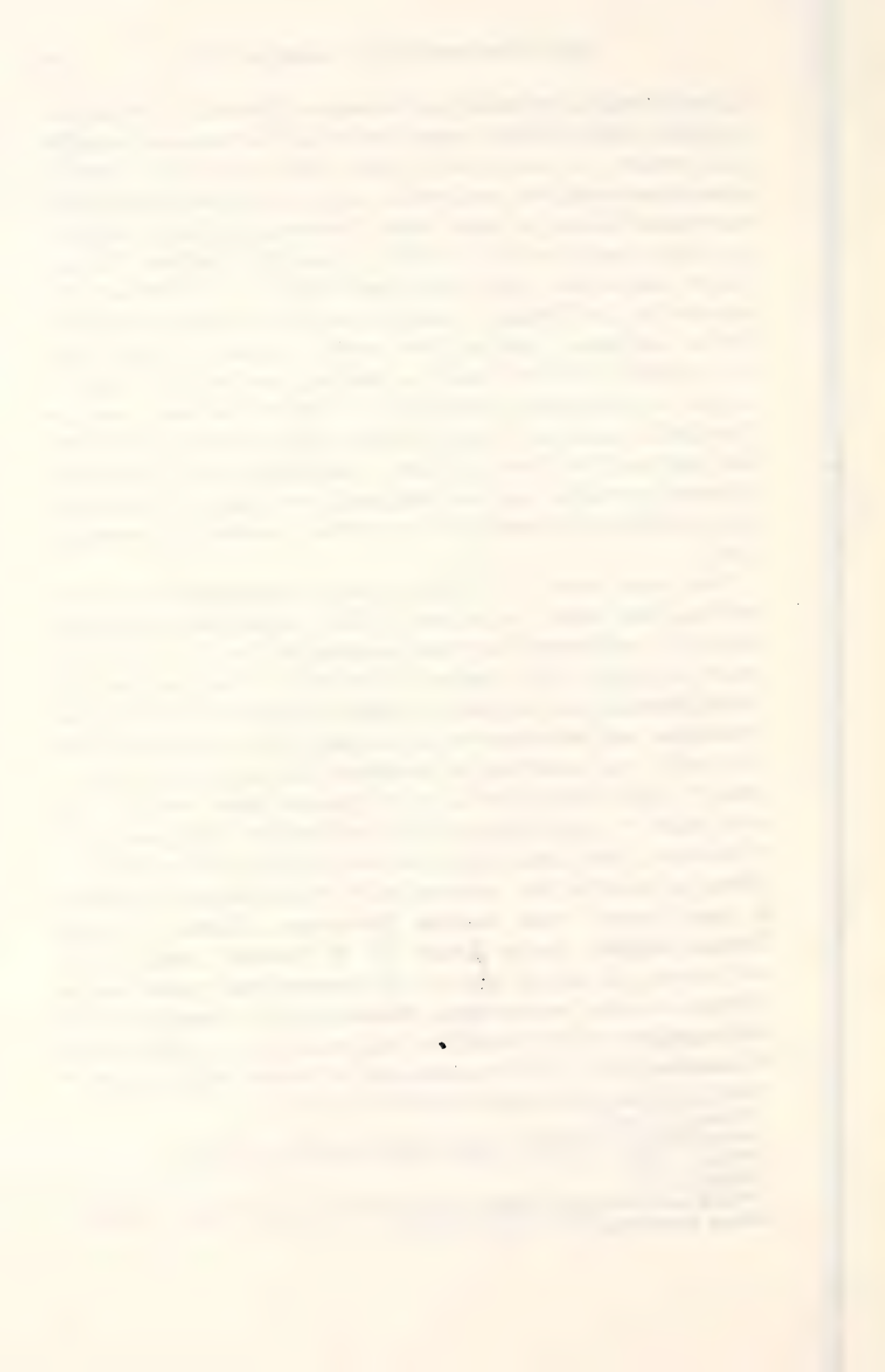
<sup>67</sup>*The William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>70</sup>Note.—All of these letters can be found in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 5 to 24.





Accordingly when the vote was taken on Thomas' compromise amendment, James Barbour, and James Pleasants, his colleague, voted against it.<sup>71</sup> On March 2nd, on motion of Mr. Barbour, it was decided to take up the bill again. Then Mr. Barbour moved to strike out the restrictive clause, and it was carried, when the bill passed.<sup>72</sup> On the next day, this same committee was re-elected managers of the Maine bill in conference with managers from the House, and their report was concurred in.<sup>73</sup> A very good idea of the intensity of this fight can be gained from the fact that James Barbour proposed to each Senator a convention of the states to dissolve the Union, and to agree on terms of separation and the mode of disposing of the public debt, lands, etc.<sup>74</sup>

There were no other very important legislative fights during the remainder of Barbour's service in the Senate. However, one bill came up and called from him a speech which deserves mention. It was entitled "A Bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt" and had been pending before the Senate for some time. On February 17th, 1824, James Barbour made one of the most eloquent of all his speeches in its support.<sup>75</sup>

After the struggle over Missouri had ended in compromise, another began for the next presidential election. James Barbour took very little active part in the real campaign. But he was a warm champion of a caucus nomination, and told Col. R. M. Johnson that if no one would join him, then he, "I, by myself, I" would make a caucus nomination alone.<sup>76</sup> It is not known definitely, however, whom he would have supported at this time, but he, at least, realized that no election could result in any popular vote on so many candidates, and wished to avoid throwing the election to the House.<sup>77</sup> In January, James Barbour told Col. Johnson that if the election

<sup>71</sup>*William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 7.

<sup>72</sup>*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>74</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. V, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup>*Eloquence in the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

<sup>76</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. V, p. 13.

<sup>77</sup>Note.—Even Thomas Ritchie favored a caucus nomination at this time, and for the same reason that Barbour did. (See Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 130, and *The Richmond Enquirer*, February 12, 1824.)



should go to the House the vote would be at least two-thirds for Adams against Crawford, and that he had thoughts of giving his adhesion to Adams. This Johnson advised him to do.<sup>78</sup> It is well known that the caucus was held and resulted in the nomination of Crawford by a small minority of the Republicans in Congress.<sup>79</sup> But after the nomination, Barbour's enthusiasm seems to have waned, and in April, Col. Johnson reported that, "Barbour seems ready to give up the cause."<sup>80</sup> In May, Mr. Adams talked to Rufus King and James Barbour about his plan for a slave trade convention with England. King approved it, and Adams remarked, "But Barbour, a Caucus man, seemed very coolly disposed towards it."<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, on the 24th of May, Col. Taylor reported to Adams, "That Gov. Barbour had this day made the best speech he had ever heard from him, in support of the Convention, and had done entire justice to it."<sup>82</sup> Now he seemed to be taking Col. Johnson's advice. In December of this year (1824) Mr. Adams called on Mr. Barbour, and after talking about various public matters, asked him confidentially about the coming election. Barbour told him that the entire Virginia delegation would vote for Crawford, but that if his cause should be hopeless, they would in any case, vote for another than a mere military leader (Jackson).<sup>83</sup> A few days later, Barbour called on Mr. Adams and repeated that the Virginia delegation would vote, at first for Crawford, and then, if that were impracticable, their next choice would be for Adams.<sup>84</sup> The main facts of this election are now common knowledge, how that in the House, under the leadership of Clay, the supporters of Crawford went over and voted for Adams who was elected on the first ballot.<sup>85</sup> On February 12th,

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<sup>78</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VI, p. 235; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 127.

<sup>79</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 133.

<sup>80</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VI, p. 284.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 475.

<sup>85</sup>Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 142.





Col. R. M. Johnson had a long talk with Mr. Adams and strongly advised him to appoint Gov. Barbour to one of the Departments.<sup>86</sup> On March 4th, the name of James Barbour was sent to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of War.<sup>87</sup>

Here we find the turning point in the career of James Barbour. Until this time he had been upheld by his statesmanship and genius as one of the acknowledged leaders of his State. Now he had been received into the political family of a President against whom the political leaders of New York and Virginia were soon to unite in a deadly opposition. As a member of the new administration he must help frame its policies, and consequently, be held, in part, responsible for its every act. The "Era of Good Feeling" had already broken up into a seething foment of political scheming, and Jackson, defeated, was already preparing to inflict a dire revenge upon the men, who, as he said, "had combined to cheat the people of their choice." In November, President Adams was preparing his first message to Congress, and read it to his Cabinet. Mr. Barbour objected to that part relating to internal improvements, and even Mr. Clay "thought there was much force in his remarks."<sup>88</sup> While they were discussing this message, a very striking contrast appeared between these two men. Mr. Clay was for recommending nothing, which, from its unpopularity, would be unlikely to succeed, while Mr. Barbour wished to recommend nothing that might be carried without recommendation.<sup>89</sup>

Among the first duties of the new Secretary was the disposal of those Indian tribes, in Georgia and Florida, which had already begun to block the progress of civilization. This was a very difficult matter, and gave him a great deal of trouble. Gov. Troup, of Georgia, was continually quarrelling with the federal Indian agent, and at one time threatened to treat Barbour as a public enemy, should he insist on his order to block a survey which Troup had planned.<sup>90</sup> But by a skillful

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<sup>86</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VI, p. 509.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 510.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 59.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 136; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 312.



and judicious management, Barbour was able to avert any real issue with the hot headed Governor. Thus it was left for his successor under Andrew Jackson, to stir up the trouble which caused "Old Hickory" to back down. Mr. Barbour, at first planned to incorporate the Indians within the States of the Union and to cease making treaties with them at all, and consider them altogether subject to our laws. Mr. Clay thought that the Indians could not be civilized and that they were destined to extinction. He said that he did not believe any of them would be left in fifty years. Mr. Barbour was shocked at these opinions.<sup>91</sup> In January of 1826, Mr. Barbour finally agreed on a treaty with the Creeks in Georgia, by which treaty, the Chattahoochie was to be the boundary. The President having agreed to it, it was signed.<sup>92</sup> The next month, Barbour laid before the Cabinet, his letter to the Committee on Indian Affairs. His plan had changed from the one that he at first considered, into a plan for forming all of the tribes into a great territorial government, west of the Mississippi river. This letter provoked much hostile criticism from the Virginia press,<sup>93</sup> but Mr. Adams remarked in his Diary, "There are many excellent remarks in the paper, which is full of benevolence, and humanity."<sup>94</sup>

This same characteristic of Gov. Barbour appeared perhaps more strikingly in July of this year. On July 1st, he told President Adams about the damage which recent rains had done to the estate of Mr. Jefferson and proposed that on July the Fourth, after the usual ceremonies at the Capitol, he should address the audience, and invite an immediate subscription for the benefit of the grand old sage, and that he himself would give \$100.00. Mr. Adams doubted the success of the plan. Nevertheless, on the Fourth, Barbour delivered his address, which, although only a few subscriptions were secured, Mr. Adams remarks, "was the overflowing of a generous, benevolent, and patriotic heart, respectable even in its ineffici-

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<sup>91</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 89.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>93</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, February, 1826.

<sup>94</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 113.



ency.”<sup>95</sup> On the sixth of July, Mr. Barbour had the sad duty of reporting to Mr. Adams, that Jefferson had died at Monticello, on July the Fourth. All were profoundly touched by the strange and striking coincidence, and Barbour was especially affected, as he prepared his special order to the army, in deference, both to Jefferson and to the elder Adams.<sup>96</sup>

In December, 1826, Mr. Clay talked to President Adams about the ensuing presidential election. He said that his friends were talking about him (Clay) for vice-president, but that he did not care about this and would be willing to remain as Secretary of State if the friends of the administration would unite in supporting Gov. Barbour for the vice-presidency.<sup>96a</sup> In November of the next year when the elections in New York were going unfavorably to the administration, Barbour called on Mr. Adams and asked his opinion about the vice-presidency. Adams preferred not to interfere, but said that his inclination was for him (Barbour). Mr. Barbour then said that Mr. Clay had proposed it to him; that he wished all personal considerations to be pushed out, and let the man be selected who could give the most strength to the cause. *He did not think, however, that Mr. Clay could effect this.*<sup>97</sup>

Only a few months were necessary to make this prospect unattractive. The combination of Van Buren and his henchmen in New York with Thomas Ritchie and others in Virginia, into an organized fight against the administration in favor of Jackson had been all too successful. It was hard now not to see that the people would soon have their “Choice.” And Barbour’s desire for the vice-presidential nomination decreased accordingly. At one time the support of Gov. Barbour would have been a tower of strength to Adams in Virginia, at least. But now his identity with the administration was too well established for the enemies of this administration to leave his popularity intact. His nationalistic ideas had come up for

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<sup>95</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 118.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>96a</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, pp. 216-17.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 352.





assault in the Jackson papers, and Jackson himself began to count as personal enemies all who did not support him. Little wonder that Barbour began to dread a campaign. But he was not inactive. One especially interesting incident was his call on Adams, March 21, 1828, to leave copies of Jackson's letter to L. W. Campbell, written in September, 1812. This letter and a note were in very abusive language, with a total disregard of or ignorance of spelling or grammar. It was proposed to publish them in some way so as to form a contrast to his printed speeches which had really been written by Harry Lee. This had already been done by a printed named Force, in Nashville, Tennessee. The plan now was to get a resolution through the House calling for the publication of the correspondence relating to the Indian passports. Jackson's friends did not know of this letter, and it was hoped to get it published in this way. Adams approved the stratagem, but it later failed.<sup>98</sup> The "Old Hero" and his friends were "on the job." Perhaps these latter suspected something of this sort, or at least were afraid to run any risk.

As early as January 23, 1828, Dr. Watkins, of Virginia, went to President Adams to urge the appointment of Gov. Barbour as Minister to England to succeed Albert Gallatin, saying that Mr. Clay had already talked to Barbour about this, and had induced him to expect it. Mr. Adams said that it would be very agreeable to him to gratify any wish of Gov. Barbour, but that he had almost promised this place to another, however he would wait until the close of that session of Congress to make an appointment.<sup>99</sup> In March, Mr. Clay told Adams that Webster desired the mission to England before he passed the prime of life. But as Gov. Barbour, who was very anxious to go, would certainly not stay more than two or three years, Mr. Webster was willing to postpone his own claims until that time. Mr. Clay then mentioned Gen. Porter and Spencer as possible successors of Barbour as Secretary of War.<sup>100</sup> Mr. Adams then notes in his Diary, "Webster wants

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<sup>98</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 482.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 474.



it through ambition, Rush and Barbour, as a shelter from the political storm of which they are now afraid—I cannot blame them.”<sup>101</sup> In a few days, Barbour himself spoke to Adams about his desire for the appointment, and asked to have notice some time beforehand, in case of his appointment, in order to arrange his private affairs. This Adams promised.<sup>102</sup>

In May, Mr. Clay began again to urge the claims of Gov. Barbour, and Adams remarked again that both Barbour and Rush wanted to save themselves from the wreck. Then he adds, “And it is not inoperative upon Mr. Clay’s recent propensities to resign. As the rage of the tempest increases and the chances grow desperate, each one will take care of himself. I know not that I could do better than gratify Gov. Barbour, who has rendered faithful service to his country and whose integrity and honor are unsullied. In my own political downfall, I am not necessarily bound to involve my friends. Mr. Clay thinks that the appointment of Governor Barbour would not have a bad political effect upon the administration. In this he is mistaken. The effect will be violent, and probably decisive. But why should I require men to sacrifice themselves for me?”<sup>103</sup> Such was the spirit of John Quincy Adams, the grand old Puritan. In a few days Barbour talked again with Adams about the appointment, and insisted that Adams should not let his claims be an embarrassment to the administration. Adams told him that the difficulties had cleared away, and that there was only his desire to preserve the administration unbroken to the end. But that in a few days he would decide.<sup>104</sup> Accordingly he called a Cabinet meeting for May 17th to consider the subject. Barbour asked to be absent from this meeting and was excused.<sup>105</sup> At this meeting Adams suggested that the appointment be postponed, but the Cabinet was all of the opinion that it should be made

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<sup>101</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 483.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 485.

<sup>103</sup>*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. VII, p. 525.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 538.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 544.





immediately, and that Gov. Barbour was the man for the place. Adams again mentioned the bad effect this might have on the ensuing election. Clay argued that this might not be the case.<sup>106</sup>

Adams knew more than his advisers. When the appointment became known the enemies of his administration jumped at once to the conclusion which Adams had feared; the hostile press charged at once that the administration had acknowledged its defeat; that James Barbour had deserted the cause, and some declared that the choice of Barbour to succeed Gallatin was ridiculous.<sup>107</sup> However, other papers rallied to the defense, and in the *Richmond Whig* this latter criticism was ably answered in a striking editorial: "It is the fashion in Virginia to depreciate James Barbour for the purpose of dispensing a larger share of praise to his brother, Philip P. Barbour, who has more successfully cultivated the regard of that political club,<sup>108</sup> which has so long ruled things with a despotic sway. To deny that Gov. Barbour has fine talents, only proves the weakness of those who make the objection. On the score of talent, Gov. Barbour is amply equal to the occasion."<sup>109</sup> Subsequent events proved that this was true. On the 28th of May, the Senate ratified the nomination of James Barbour as Minister to England, by a vote of 27 to 12. It may be interesting to note that among the 12 who voted "no," were John Tyler and L. W. Tazewell, both of Virginia.<sup>110</sup>

Gov. Barbour went at once to London, and took up his new duties. He was introduced to the British Premier early in October<sup>111</sup> and, under instructions from Secretary Clay, immediately began negotiations for a settlement of the old trouble

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<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 546

<sup>107</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, May 26 and 27, 1828;

(From *New York Evening Post*, May, 1828).

<sup>801</sup>The *Richmond Junto*, of which Thomas Ritchie was one of the leaders.

<sup>109</sup>*The Constitutional Whig*, May 24, 1828.

<sup>110</sup>*Congressional Debates*, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 2773; 20th Con., 1st Ses.; *The Constitutional Whig*, May 28, 1828.

<sup>111</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. 35, p. 121.



over slaves escaping into Canada. Mr. Gallatin had been instructed to settle this, but Great Britain had refused to treat. When Mr. Barbour pressed the subject, the British minister at first claimed that an act of Parliament made a slave free when he escaped to British territory. Barbour pointed out that this was not an act of Parliament but rather the result of a judicial decision. Lord Aberdeen then said that Sir George Murray would bring it before Parliament, where he hoped the evil could be obviated.<sup>112</sup> Early in the next year, Mr. Barbour was presented to the King and was received with marked courtesy and kindness of manner, while the reception of Mr. Gallatin, on the contrary, had been repulsive in the extreme.<sup>113</sup> But merit under the new President (Jackson) did not necessarily ensure reward, and early in the summer Barbour was recalled, and Lewis McLane of Delaware, an ardent supporter of Jackson, was appointed his successor.<sup>114</sup> The old pilots had not dreamed of such a "storm," and now they realized that no harbour could be a safe shelter from it.

It is gratifying, however, to note the favor which Gov. Barbour received while he was abroad. Most of the societies and learned institutions of London invited him to become a foreign member, and the English papers noted especially his presence at the annual festival of the Medico-Botanical Society, which boasted among its members, the crowned heads, as well as the most distinguished persons of Europe. Of the toasts drunk on that occasion, one was highly flattering to the foreign ministers present, and was enthusiastically received by the company. Barbour's colleagues, the representatives of other nations, with one accord, insisted on his returning thanks in their behalf. This he did in a very modest and eloquent speech.<sup>115</sup> At a meeting of the British and Foreign School Society in London, Mr. Barbour was introduced by Mr. Wilberforce as his "Excellent Friend." He spoke a short while in response, and was followed by Lord John Russell, who: "Felt

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<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 36, March 28, 1829.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 298-9.

<sup>115</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. 36, p. 308. (The speech is printed here in full.)



the highest satisfaction" in Mr. Barbour, as the representative of a great nation. "It is very gratifying," said he, "to have at last, an American ambassador who can watch the progress of England with interest and pleasure, instead of the jealousy which former ministers have always held."<sup>116</sup> On July 1st, the University of Oxford honored Mr. Barbour with the degree of LL. D. This degree was at the same time conferred on many noblemen, army officers, scientists, etc. It was a great occasion, large crowds having assembled to see the famous men who were to receive honorary degrees. After the presentation of these, there was a grand procession of dignitaries.<sup>117</sup>

Gov. Barbour and his family sailed from Liverpool in October,<sup>118</sup> and arrived in New York, November 1st, 1829.<sup>119</sup> He was immediately invited to attend the dinner which New York was to give, on November 6th, to Mr. Brown who had been recalled from France. But private reasons compelled him to decline, and he set out at once for Virginia.<sup>120</sup> But the next week he was splendidly entertained at a great public dinner given by citizens of Richmond.<sup>121</sup>

In May of the next year, Gov. Barbour announced himself as a candidate to represent Orange county in the next General Assembly. He made a powerful speech at Orange courthouse, reviewing his own political life, and vindicated his acceptance of a seat in Adams' Cabinet.<sup>122</sup> The election was very close and exciting. So intense was the opposition that, although Barbour's opponent was an illiterate and unknown man, there seemed to be little doubt that he would be elected over the man who had been Governor, Senator, Secretary and Ambassador. Even a number of the members of Barbour's own family are said to have refused to vote for him, because of his connection with Adams.<sup>122a</sup> However, ex-President Madi-

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 8.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, October 17, 1829.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, November 7, 1829.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, November 14, 1829.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, November 28, 1829.

<sup>122</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. 38, p. 218.

<sup>122a</sup>From an account by W. W. Scott, Law Librarian of Virginia (a nephew of James Barbour).





son, old as he was, attended the election and voted for Gov. Barbour.<sup>122b</sup> At first it appeared that Mr. Davis, Barbour's opponent, had a majority of 14 votes. But the sheriff discovered a number of fraudulent votes for Davis, and declared Mr. Barbour elected.<sup>123</sup> The election was contested, however, and Mr. Barbour took his seat in the Assembly declaring that he would retire if there should be any reasonable proof that his opponent had not been defeated. A committee was appointed to look into the matter, and it *appeared* to them that Barbour had not received a legal majority, although they were unable to show sufficient proof. Nevertheless, Mr. Barbour saw that the intense partisan hostility was determined to defeat him, and on the 16th of February, 1831, he gave notice that he would retire, in order, as he said, "to relieve the committee of the expense and labour of going over the great mass of records, etc." He then bade farewell to the Assembly in a valedictory, which is one of the most beautiful of all his speeches.<sup>124</sup> But he still had many friends in Orange county, and they arranged a public dinner for him at Orange Courthouse for March 10th. Mr. Madison was invited, but was too feeble to accept the invitation, else he "would have joined in the *tribute* to be offered to one whose private worth and social virtues are known to all." Judge P. P. Barbour handsomely accepted the invitation extended him. Robert Taylor also accepted in an earnest and feeling manner. In those days political views were personal things, and it was no small tribute to the private worth of a public man to be entertained at a public dinner with his political opponents present to do him honor; and in his letter of acceptance, Gov. Barbour showed himself fully sensible of the compliment.<sup>125</sup>

He now retired to his beautiful home, "Barboursville,"<sup>126</sup>

<sup>122b</sup>Niles Register, Vol. 39, p. 173.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 173; *The Fredericksburg Arena*, November, 1830; *The Fredericksburg Herald*, November, 1830.

<sup>124</sup>Niles Register, Vol. 39, p. 464. (This valedictory is reproduced here in full.)

<sup>125</sup>Niles Register, March 26, 1831.

<sup>126</sup>Note.—A half-tone engraving and interesting description of this fine old mansion may be found in Scott, *History of Orange County*, p. 81 and 202.



and took very little active part in politics until early in the spring of 1839, when the presidential campaign began. He then entered heartily into the campaign, and with Benjamin W. Leigh of Richmond, was elected delegate-at-large from Virginia to the Whig Convention to be held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>127</sup> This convention met at the Lutheran Church in Harrisburg, on the fourth of December. The next day, Gov. James Barbour was elected president of the convention<sup>128</sup> with John Tyler of Virginia as one of the vice-presidents.

In this Convention, the New York politicians, led by Thurlow Weed, effected the slaughter of Henry Clay, and availability had its first complete triumph in our national politics.<sup>129</sup> Men of every political creed had come together to seek a common advantage, and to revenge past wrongs. Old enmities were forgotten among those who had assembled, and old friendships were forgotten, too. Even James Barbour forgot the many personal services which had cemented his friendship with Clay, and in his opening speech declared, that "he had not come there with any personal prejudices in his heart, nor had any of them come to whine after the fleshpots of Egypt, but to give perpetuity to republican institutions. To reach this end, it mattered not what letters of the Alphabet spelled the candidate's name, for his part, he could sing Hosannas to any Alphabetical combination."<sup>130</sup>

During the balloting for the presidential nominee, Harrison seemed to have a lead on Clay. Finally a letter from Clay was read. It gave the convention a free rein, but Clay declined to withdraw. Barbour then made a beautiful speech in

<sup>127</sup>*Richmond Whig*, October 1, 1839.

<sup>128</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. VII, 5th Series, p. 249; Shepard, *Martin Van Buren* (Am. Statesmen Series), p. 378.

Note.—The Gov. Barbour here referred to is listed in the index of this book as "Philip P. Barbour" (see p. 470). Nevertheless, Gov. P. P. Barbour, who was a rank Democrat, is clearly confused here with his brother, Gov. James Barbour, who was, undoubtedly, President of this Convention. (See *Niles Register*, VII, 5th Series, p. 249.)

<sup>129</sup>Shepard, *Martin Van Buren*, p. 378.

<sup>130</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. VII, 5th Series, p. 249.





compliment to Clay, but ended with a strong endorsement of General Harrison.<sup>131</sup> Harrison was nominated with John Tyler, of Virginia, for a running mate. It will be remembered that just eleven years before, Tyler had voted in the United States Senate against the confirmation of Barbour as Ambassador to England. Now he had come over into Barbour's own party, and Barbour atoned, in part, for his desertion of Clay, by proving that he had indeed, "not come with any personal prejudices in his heart." Since he worked faithfully for Tyler's nomination, and then sang "Hosannas" throughout the campaign to this very unusual combination. It was a memorable campaign. The men who had lost the most by Jackson's slogan, "Let the people rule," now came back with an echo to that cry, and the successor of Jackson trembled as the echoes rang. Old as he was, Gov. Barbour plunged into the campaign with his old-time eloquence. At Staunton, he met Gov. William Smith in a debate and spoke for five hours. Gov. Smith himself later pronounced this speech "the ablest he had ever heard from the lips of any man."<sup>132</sup> Soon after this Barbour made a speech at a convention at Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), which the *Richmond Whig* noted as "The most magnificent burst of eloquence to which the times have given birth."<sup>133</sup> These were the times, too, of *Clay*, *Calhoun*, and *Webster*!

If we leave out any thought that Gov. Barbour may have been spurred on by memories of former personal wrongs, and think only of the great issues which were at stake, there is something sublime in this his last great fight. After ten years of retirement from his thirty years of eminent public service, he had come back before the people, not seeking for office, but to warn them against the "Little Magician" and his crew of politicians, and to help "give perpetuity to Republican institutions." A contemporary remarks: "Gov. Barbour presented an imposing appearance, with striking face, long, shaggy eyebrows, and head covered with silvery flowing locks; with

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<sup>131</sup>*Niles Register*, Vol. VII, 5th Series, p. 378.

<sup>132</sup>Bell, *Memoirs of Gov. Wm. Smith*, p. 14.

<sup>133</sup>*Richmond Whig*, September 21, 1840.



a majestic and sonorous voice, he filled one's conception of a Roman Senator in the last days of the Republic."<sup>134</sup>

At the close of this contest, broken in health by the strain, he went to Baltimore and Philadelphia to consult certain eminent surgeons and physicians, and it was found that he had been suffering for several years under the effects of a slow and insidious disease which had gradually impaired his constitution. The surgeons could give him no hope for a permanent cure, and he returned sadly to "Barboursville." In December of 1841, he started again for Baltimore, this time by way of Richmond where he was to attend the Agricultural Convention. But the trip to Richmond exhausted him, and after a few days of rest there, he returned again to "Barboursville." After a few weeks of rest, he seemed to recover again, and was able to take charge of his estate, but as summer approached the old statesman weakened fast, and on the seventh of June, in the possession of his mental faculties, and conscious of the approaching end, he died, surrounded by his family.<sup>135</sup> Now the hand of death had silenced his enemies, and the voices of his friends united into one full chord of praise. From among these many notes, the fittest one declared him: "One of the noblest of the sons of Virginia, the virtues of whose private life and character outshone all of the splendor with which popular favor or political distinction could adorn his name."<sup>136</sup> It is characteristic of the man that he desired only this simple inscription on his tomb:

"Here lies James Barbour  
Originator of  
The Literary Fund  
of Virginia."<sup>137</sup>

But he shares the fate so common to distinguished Virginians, since even this small tribute has been denied him,

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<sup>134</sup>Bell, *Memoirs of Gov. Wm. Smith*, p. 14.

<sup>135</sup>*Richmond Whig*, June 16, 1842.

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 325.



and he still lies in an unmarked grave. However the little town of Barboursville stands near where his home had been, and Barbour county in West Virginia, formed in 1842, also perpetuates his name and memory.<sup>138</sup> Time has not yet healed the enmity which his desertion caused in Democratic Virginia, and the silent neglect of his contemporaries proves all too eloquently how intense this enmity had been. It is not our task to defend James Barbour, but only to ask that his critics study closely all his actions before condemning any single motive of this man whose whole life supports no baser charge than that he stood for conviction in the face of political disaster, and refused to cringe for safety before the altar of a demagogue.

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<sup>138</sup>Smith, *Governors of Virginia*, p. 325.





## SAMUEL DAVIES.

J. G. Hughes, Jr., A. B.

Not only the history of Presbyterianism in Virginia, but the lives of some of Virginia's greatest men are unquestionably connected with the name of Samuel Davies. He lived and preached during a period when there was much bitterness against all those who differed from the established church.

Samuel Davies was born in New Castle county, Delaware, November 3rd, 1723. His parents were David and Martha Davies of the Welch Tracts.<sup>1</sup> "His father was a farmer, of small property, of moderate intellectual endowments, and of a blameless religious life. His mother was possessed of superior natural abilities and was eminently and ardently pious."<sup>2</sup> Speaking of her afterwards, Davies, in a letter to the Bishop of London said, "I cannot but mention to my friend an anecdote known to but few, that is, that I am a son of prayer, like my namesake Samuel, the prophet; and my mother called me Samuel, because she said, 'I have asked him of the Lord.' This early dedication to God has always been a strong inducement to me to devote myself to Him as a personal act, and the most important blessings of my life I have looked upon as immediate answers to the prayers of a pious mother."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Davies is represented as having been a very bright child. Up to ten years of age he was educated by his mother, as there was no school in the neighborhood. He was then sent to a preparatory school for the next two years, where he made rapid progress. He continued at school the habit of secret prayer which he had formed at home, and—"was more ardent in his supplications for being introduced into the Gospel ministry than for anything else."<sup>4</sup> For some time after this he was under the tuition of a learned Welch minister, a Mr. Morgan, and later attended the famous school of Fagg's Manor,

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from Dr. B. B. Warfield, Princeton, N. J.

<sup>2</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 157. For considerable information on Davies life, I am indebted to this history.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 158



which was taught by the Rev. Sam'l Blair. Great attention was paid to the classics and sciences in this school. The standard was high, and Mr. Davies became acquainted with the best writers on theology.<sup>5</sup> He was licensed to preach by New Castle Presbytery, July 30th, 1746. "In person he was tall, well proportioned, erect, and comely; his carriage was easy, graceful, and dignified; his dress neat and tasteful, and his manners polished. A distinguished Virginian well expressed the impresion his appearance made, who, seeing him walk through a court-yard, remarked that he looked "like the ambassador of some great king."<sup>6</sup>

In October, 1746, Mr. Davies was married to Sarah Kirkpatrick,<sup>7</sup> and in February of the following year he was ordained evangelist to preach in Virginia, "especially to certain congregations in Hanover."<sup>8</sup>

Virginia at this time was under the control of a governor appointed by the King of England. There was also the House of Burgesses, and a general council appointed by the governor, which exercised considerable authority and constituted a court of trial.

The ministry of Mr. Davies extended through the rule of five governors, namely: William Gooch, Thomas Lee, George Burwell, Robert Dinwiddie and Francis Fauquier. Mr. Davies became intimately connected with governor Gooch. The latter was appointed governor in 1728 and resigned in 1749. While he was not hostile to dissenters, the council which had great influence with him, was extremely bitter against them—in fact, against all outside of the Anglican Church. "This council, without authority, allowed the Governor three hundred pounds out of the royal quit-rents, and he in return resigned in a great measure the helm of government to them."<sup>9</sup> This constituted the basis of their authority and influence over him.

<sup>5</sup>For some account of this school see Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup>William Wirt Henry, *Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup>*Family Bible* of Samuel Davies at the "Cottage," the home of his son, and his descendants, near Petersburg, Va.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, and Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup>Campbell, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia*, p. 449.





The dissenters claimed that the Act of Toleration should be carried out in Virginia as well as in England, but the council was not disposed to allow them any of the liberties and immunities granted to them by this act. King James in his articles of instruction required that the church of the Mother Country should be established in her colony; and nominally, at least, the people claimed the character of Christians.<sup>10</sup> Privileges of citizenship were denied to dissenters, and those who chose to depart from the requirements of the established religion were met by innumerable vexations. It was with delay and reluctance that the courts of Virginia construed the toleration laws of England to have any operation in the colony, and when they were admitted their efficacy was confined to the narrowest limits possible.<sup>11</sup>

To show the severity and intolerance felt towards dissenters, twelve years after the period of which I am now writing, in the year 1747, Anabaptists were imprisoned in Caroline county for preaching publicly.<sup>12</sup> In the language of an old writer, the intolerance and persecutions were enough to "goad to madness a soul sensitive to freedom." This spirit of intolerance continued down to the time of the Revolution. Madison relates that in his youth he was strongly impressed by listening to several Baptists preach through the bars of the cell, in the jail (in the village of Orange) in which they were confined, because of their religious views.<sup>13</sup>

The clergy in the Episcopal Church had fallen into great disrepute on account of their pride, indolence, and worldliness. Church establishment is characterized by Madison in the following manner: "Pride and indolence in the clergy, ignorance and servility in the laity, in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution."<sup>14</sup>

It was among these conditions and at a time when the Presbyterians were being sorely harassed that Samuel Davies

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<sup>10</sup>Robert R. Howison, *History of Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 146.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>12</sup>*Virginia Gazette*, February 20, 1772.

<sup>13</sup>Gallard Hunt, *James Madison and Religious Liberty. Report of American Historical Association*, 1901, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 169.



arrived in Virginia in May, 1747. Instead of proceeding direct to Hanover, Mr. Davies went to Williamsburg to petition the General Court to grant him four meeting places for religious worship. The petition was granted after some delay, and he proceeded to Hanover where he was received with great joy by the people. His legal protection brought great mortification to his opposers. His sermons are said to have "greatly refreshed" his congregations; but the work he had begun so well was destined to be cut short for a time. After a few months in Virginia his wife died, and his health became much impaired.<sup>15</sup> He was forced to give up his work and return home. The next year was spent "under melancholy and consumptive languishments," to use the quaint expression of the day, and his death was expected at any time.

In the spring of 1749, he began to recover, and many applications were made for his services. Among these one from Hanover was signed by one hundred and fifty families, and was aided by the voice of a living messenger.<sup>16</sup> He at once determined to devote the remainder of his life to these people. He accordingly returned to Virginia, accompanied by the Rev. John Rodgers. They proceeded this time direct to Hanover, where they both preached on the Sabbath. They then petitioned for a license for Mr. Rodgers, but could not obtain one. The Council steadily opposed granting it, and threatened to take Mr. Davies' license from him. Miller, in his *Life of Rodgers*, gives a graphic account of this matter. A spirited memorial was presented to the court by the two men. When it was read, the oldest member of the court who filled the chair, in the absence of the Lieut. Governor, put an end to the discussion by declaring publicly and with warmth, "We have Mr. Rodgers out, and we are determined to keep him out."

This extraordinary proceeding is susceptible of the following explanation. When Mr. Davies first went to Virginia the established clergy felt but little anxiety about the influence of Presbyterianism, considering it too small and feeble a cause

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<sup>15</sup>*Family Bible of Samuel Davies.*

<sup>16</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 163.



to excite apprehension. But when the labours of Mr. Davies appeared evidently to be gaining an unexpected influence; when they found that Mr. Rodgers was an animated and popular preacher, exceedingly likely to make an impression and that other Presbyterian ministers were settling and labouring with success in several adjacent parts of the country, they became alarmed and resolved at all events to arrest the progress of what they deemed a threatening evil.<sup>17</sup>

At this time several trials were in progress with reference to those who were accused of having held religious meetings contrary to the law. Civil suits against Messrs. Roan, Morris, and Watkins (for this offence) were still pending.<sup>18</sup> Sir William Gooch, the Lieut. Governor, though much irritated with some of the people, was pleased with Mr. Davies. This is shown by the fact that he invited Mr. Davies and Mr. Rodgers repeatedly to his house.<sup>19</sup>

It now became evident that the full charge of the work in Virginia would fall to Mr. Davies. After bidding farewell to each other the two men separated, Mr. Rodgers first going to the eastern shore of Maryland, thence to Delaware. Mr. Davies took up his work in Virginia with not a single fellow laborer to cheer and counsel him. He may be compared in some respects to David Brainerd. Both laboured in weakness of body; both preached as "dying men to dying men."<sup>20</sup>

The narrow policy of the Council was a reflection of the spirit of the age.<sup>21</sup> Nearly all the intelligent men of the colony, and among them some who afterwards became distinguished as the champions of an unqualified freedom in everything relating to the human mind, and even the venerable name of Pendleton appears in the class of prosecutors—a proof that liberality and toleration are not intuitive qualities, the growth of an hour, but the result of wisdom and experience.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Miller, *Life of John Rodgers*, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 159.

<sup>19</sup>Miller, *Life of John Rodgers*, p. 48.

<sup>20</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 167.

<sup>21</sup>Thos. Cary Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty*, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup>Burke, *History of Virginia*, Vol. III, p. 121, 122.





Mr. Davies' preaching in Hanover was very successful. People came from great distances to hear him. So successful was he in his labors in the ministry, that he was justly regarded as the father of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia; and his contemporaries declared that he was the prince of American preachers and second only as a pulpit orator to the great Whitefield.<sup>23</sup>

Ever respectful of the law, the people under the guidance of Mr. Davies sent petitions to the Council for increasing the number of authorized meeting places. These petitions were granted after great discussion. While the governor and the majority of the Council sustained Mr. Davies, the Attorney-General, Peyton Randolph, opposed him bitterly. He considered the progress of the dissenters as greatly detrimental to the Established Church and therefore forever after this put obstacles in the way of Mr. Davies. Dr. Rice relates an anecdote which shows Mr. Davies very favorably. After stating that Mr. Davies went on frequent visits to Williamsburg to see the governor and council, he said, "On one occasion by special permission he spoke for himself. The point to be argued was the propriety of licensing a particular meeting place, when so many had already been licensed for one minister. The Attorney-General, Peyton Randolph, delivered a speech of great legal learning. When Mr. Davies arose to reply there was a general titter through the court. His very first remarks, however, discovered so intimate an acquaintance with the law on the subject that remarks of surprise were manifested on every side. In a short time the lawyers began to whisper, 'The Attorney-General has met his match to-day.'"<sup>24</sup>

On October 4th, 1748, Mr. Davies was married to Miss Jean Holt of Hanover.<sup>25</sup> Six children were the issue of this marriage.

Mr. Davies' home was about twelve miles from Richmond near one of his meeting houses. These houses usually had a

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<sup>23</sup>William Wirt Henry, *Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 293.

<sup>25</sup>*Family Bible* of Samuel Davies.



seating capacity of five hundred, and were generally filled to overflowing. Oftentimes, in the summer, he would preach to crowds of dissenters in the open air. A quotation from Dr. Rice will show his influence as a pastor. "We have learned from aged people who sat under his ministry that his powers of persuasion seemed sufficient for the accomplishment of any purpose which a minister of the gospel would undertake. Many, for instance, who were married and settled in life, and had children around them, were prevailed upon to learn the very elements of religious knowledge. A mother might often be seen rocking her infant in a cradle, sewing some article for her husband, and learning her catechism at the same time. . . .

"In fact, Mr. Davies' churches were schools in which people were taught better things than the ancient sages ever communicated to their disciples. The effect of this discipline remains to-day."<sup>26</sup>

Mr. Davies also did a great work among the negro slaves on the Virginia plantations. In a letter to a member of the Society in London for Promoting Religious Knowledge Among the Poor, he wrote as follows: "These poor, unhappy Africans are objects of my compassion, and I think the most proper objects of the Society's charity. The number of those who attend my ministry at particular times is uncertain, but generally about three hundred, who give a stated attendance, and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an assembly, as when I have glanced my eye to that part of the meeting house, where they usually sit, adorned, for so it has appeared to me, with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear, and frequently bathed in tears."<sup>27</sup> The owners of the slaves did not oppose Mr. Davies' work, not even those who were opposed to dissenters; for they soon found out that the influence of Mr. Davies was for the best among the negroes.

Besides his seven regular preaching places, Mr. Davies made several missionary excursions to other parts of Virginia. In these circuits he was accustomed to preach in the places where

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<sup>26</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 294.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.





he lodged, or to talk to the family and servants at the evening hour of worship. These visits always bore fruit, and greatly enlarged his circuit, as well as increased the number of places that asked for Presbyterian preaching.

When Mr. Davies made these trips he usually took with him a young man who would precede him and find a place of lodging for him. This was necessary, because some of the people would not receive a "new-light" preacher, as Davies was called. In this service a young man, named John Morton, was often his companion. One day they arrived at the home of one of John's relatives, a Mr. Joe Morton. He consented to give them lodging, and "Christ and Salvation came to that house," when Mr. Davies entered. Mr. Morton and all his family were converted, and from these sprung the foundation of a church called the Briary Congregation, of which Mr. Joe Morton was the first elder.<sup>28</sup>

In June, 1755, Mr. Robert Henry was installed pastor of Cub Creek Church in Charlotte county, and Briary Church in Prince Edward county, and in July, Mr. John Wright was installed pastor of the church in Cumberland county. In December of the same year the Presbytery of Hanover was formed, in which Mr. Davies presided as Moderator. The Presbytery consisted of six ministers, three of whom occupied the ground Mr. Davies first had in charge. Thus it is evident that Mr. Davies was the sole founder of Hanover Presbytery and the life and spirit of it. By increasing the number of ministers sufficiently to form a Presbytery, the objection to licensing more meeting places for dissenters was removed, though the opposition still remained.<sup>29</sup>

Besides his regular work, his various missionary excursions, and his attention to the colored people, Mr. Davies also began early to inspire young men to become ministers of the Gospel to Virginia. He also was instrumental in aiding and helping many men who afterwards became famous, such as Mr. William Richardson, connected with the history of both North

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<sup>28</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 215.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 284.



and South Carolina; James Waddell, whose acts fill a chapter in Virginia History; Patrick Henry, and others more or less prominent in their particular spheres.<sup>30</sup>

It was not unnatural that a man such as Mr. Davies should be called from the field of self-denial and labors to one of more usefulness and greater consequence. The Synod of New York appointed him and Gilbert Tennent to go to England to solicit money for Princeton College, New Jersey. At this time the college had no buildings of its own. Its president, however, was a man of character, and in spite of disadvantages the college had sent out fifty graduates, more than half of whom had entered the ministry. This was the only college except William and Mary, south of New England, in which the youth could be trained in theological and classical studies. Education had been carried on through the benevolence of individuals and clergymen.<sup>31</sup>

The summer was spent in preparation for the voyage. Before sailing, Mr. Davies went to Philadelphia, where he preached six times and attracted great attention. His audience increased with each successive sermon. Many who were opposed to the doctrine of the Presbyterian preachers in Philadelphia were pleased with Mr. Davies and satisfied with his doctrine.<sup>32</sup>

On his way to Philadelphia he had stopped at the Commencement of Princeton College and delivered a thesis, "*Personales Distinctiones in Trinitate sunt aeternae*," vindicated it against three opponents, and received the degree of A. M.<sup>33</sup>

The two men set sail November 6th, 1753.<sup>34</sup> Mr. Davies kept a journal which relates to his labors and which is still extant. After reaching Great Britain, the two parted in Edinburgh: Mr. Tennent to visit Glasgow and Ireland, while Mr. Davies went to England.

The fame of Mr. Davies was so great that crowds in Eng-

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<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223.

<sup>32</sup>Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, p. 554.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 553.

<sup>34</sup>*Family Bible of Samuel Davies.*



land came to hear him. On his arrival in London, Whitefield invited him to make his home with him. Davies declined the invitation, because by accepting he thought he might injure the success of his mission, as dissenters were not at that time pleased with Whitefield. While in England Mr. Davies also visited John and Charles Wesley, and was greatly delighted with them.<sup>35</sup>

It is told that the king of England, George II, once attended one of his services and during the sermon commenced talking in a very loud tone. Davies stopped his discourse and looking at the king said, "When the lion roareth, the beasts of the forest tremble; when the Lord speaketh, let the kings of the earth keep silence." The king kept quiet during the remainder of the discourse, and the next day sent for Mr. Davies and gave him fifty guineas for the college, observing at the same time to his courtiers, "He is an honest man! An honest man!"<sup>36</sup>

Mr. Tennent left England for Philadelphia in November, 1754, while Mr. Davies took ship for York in Virginia during the same month, but on account of the weather was not able to leave the coast until December. He landed February 13th, 1755, and after waiting on the Governor reached home February 15th.

His trip to England had been successful in every way. First, a large sum of money had been collected for the college; second, sympathy had been aroused for the suffering dissenters in Virginia. Its immediate effect as well as its after influence was a great blessing to the Presbyterians.

When Mr. Davies returned from England he found the country in a state of hostility. The French and Indian War had begun and Colonel Washington had attacked the Indians and French near Great Meadows. The Indians, supported by the French, were invading the country all along the Ohio River, and were committing horrible cruelties upon the settlers dwelling on the frontiers. The whole country was in alarm, and

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<sup>35</sup>Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, pp. 554, 556.

<sup>36</sup>Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia*, p. 294.





while some of the people retreated, others prepared to defend themselves, and fortified their houses to resist the enemy.<sup>37</sup> Mr. Davies encouraged the people and preached many sermons calculated to excite patriotism and devotion. These had great influence on Patrick Henry, the greater part of whose youth had been passed during the time that Mr. Davies laboured in Virginia. "Patrick Henry has declared, that by listening to him he was himself taught what an orator should be; and James Waddell, the blind preacher, is said to have caught from Davies the inspiration which afterwards made him almost his equal in sacred pathos."<sup>38</sup>

On the news of Braddock's defeat in 1755, Mr. Davies preached a comforting and encouraging sermon to the people, and after lamenting the sins that had brought these sufferings on them, he said, "Let me earnestly recommend it to you to furnish yourselves with arms and put yourself in a position of defence. What is that religion good for that leaves men cowards on the appearance of danger. . . . That is a mean, sordid, cowardly soul that would abandon his country and shift for his own little self, when there is any probability of defending it."<sup>39</sup>

In a sermon preached August 17th, 1755, his allusion to Washington was almost prophetic. This sermon was addressed to the first volunteer company raised in Virginia after Braddock's defeat. After complimenting the bravery that had been shown by the Virginia troops, he said, "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."<sup>40</sup>

During all these alarming times, Mr. Davies continued his ministerial duties, and his zeal never abated in his desire to save souls.

Mr. Davies took great pains in the preparation of his ser-

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<sup>37</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 282.

<sup>38</sup> Robert R. Howison, *History of Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 180.

<sup>39</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 283.

<sup>40</sup> William Wirt Henry, *Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, Vol. I, p. 14.



mons, and always kept before his mind the needs of his hearers. He says, "Every sermon I think worthy of the name costs me four days hard study in preparation."<sup>41</sup> When pressed to speak extemporaneously he sometimes replied, "It is a dreadful thing to talk nonsense in the name of the Lord."<sup>42</sup> Nothing ever kept him from declaring the truth which he judged suited the occasion. Always in earnest, the sense of responsibility impressed him, so that he often gave utterance to impassioned words.

The French and Indian War had brought great hardships on the colonies as well as weakened their resources. In the spring of 1758, the work of recruiting went on heavily, and Mr. Davies was called on to excite the people to their duty. His war sermons seem to have been irresistible, and we are told that the following passage, preached by Mr. Davies just before another general muster in Hanover county for the purpose of raising a company for Captain Meredith had a powerful effect: "May I not reasonably insist upon it that the company be made up this very day before we leave this place. Methinks your King, your country, nay your own interest command me; and therefore I insist upon it. Oh! for the all-pervading force of Demosthenes' oratory—but I recall my wish that I may correct it, oh! for the influence of the Lord of Armies, the God of Battles, the Author of true courage, and every heroic virtue, to fire you into patriots and true soldiers this moment! Ye young and hardy men, whose very faces seem to speak that God and nature formed you for soldiers. . . . Ye that love your country, enlist; for honor will follow you in life or death in such a cause. Ye that love your religion, enlist; for your religion is in danger. Can Protestant Christianity expect quarter from heathen savages and French Papists? Sure in such an allaince the powers of Hell make a third party. Ye that love your friends and relations, enlist; lest ye see them enslaved and butchered before your eyes."<sup>43</sup> After this

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<sup>41</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 303.

<sup>42</sup>Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia*, p. 295.

<sup>43</sup>Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 295-296.





discourse it is said that Captain Meredith's company was made up in a few minutes.

After these patriotic sermons Mr. Davies was not molested by those of the Established Church. They did not dare to annoy "the best recruiting officer in Virginia."

We now come to an event which changed the whole course of Mr. Davies' life. Mr. Burr, the president of Princeton College, died in 1758. The Rev. Jonathan Edwards who succeeded him lived only a few weeks after his installation. Mr. Davies was then elected president. The Presbytery of Hanover met, and decided unanimously to oppose his removal. Mr. Davies himself used his influence to obtain the appointment for his friend, Samuel Finley. Notwithstanding all this opposition, an application to the Synod of New York by the Board of Trustees of the College obtained his dismissal from his pastoral charge and his removal to the college. The feelings of Mr. Davies upon his removal are best expressed in the text which he used in his farewell sermon on July 1st, 1759: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind; live in peace; and the God of Love and Peace shall be with you."<sup>44</sup> He had a wonderful sympathy for the people, so that he often made them partakers of his feelings and emotions. Virginia mourned his departure, realizing that a great pillar of the church had been removed from her midst.

When he entered upon his duties as president of the college, he threw into it his whole heart and soul. He rose early and worked late, and it is probably due to this that his physical strength gave way so soon. Mr. Davies' sickness was of short duration, lasting only ten days. Notwithstanding having been bled on Saturday for a violent cold, he finished on that day transcribing his sermon for the press on the death of George II. He preached twice on the Sabbath. On Monday he was seized with a chill followed by fever, and soon became delirious. During these wanderings of his mind, some plan for the good of his fellowmen was always put forth. While he was con-

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<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 298.



scious, he was always composed and resigned. His quiet soul passed away on the fourth of February to appear before his Maker, for whom he had spent his life. He was only thirty-seven years old, his superhuman efforts and labors having sapped a body that was not strong at the first. It has been said with truth, "He died early, having lived fast and done much." Mr. Davies' father had died in August, 1759,<sup>45</sup> just after his son had accepted the presidency of Princeton College. His mother survived him many years and was cared for, until her death, in the home of Mr. Davies' friend, Mr. John Rodgers.<sup>46</sup>

During the last years of his life, Mr. Davies spoke often concerning his departure from this world. Strange to say, on the first day of the year in which he died he preached on the text, "This year thou shalt die." The first president of Princeton College, Aaron Burr, had also done the same thing and died within a year.<sup>47</sup> As his words picture his readiness for death far better than I can do, I will quote him direct, "Indeed, the thought of leaving my poor family destitute, and my flock shepherdless, made me often start back and cling to life; but in other respects, death appeared a kind of indifference to me. Formerly I have wished to live longer, that I might be prepared for heaven; but this consideration had very little weight with me, and that for a very unusual reason, which was this: After a long trial I found this world a place so unfriendly to the growth of everything divine and heavenly, that I was afraid if I should live any longer, I should be no better fitted for heaven than I am. Indeed, I have hardly any hopes of ever making any great attainment in holiness while in this world, though I should be doomed to live in it as long as Methuselah. . . . ."

"In my sickness, I found the unspeakable importance of a mediator, in a religion for sinners. Had I as many good works as Abraham or Paul I would not have dared build my hopes on such a quicksand, but only on the firm eternal rock."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>*Family Bible of Samuel Davies.*

<sup>46</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 304.

<sup>47</sup> Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, pp. 559, 560.

<sup>48</sup> Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 306, 307.



Makemie stands as the father of the Presbyterian church in America; Davies as the apostle of Virginia.<sup>49</sup> He created a new era in the history of Virginia, and many of the principles which Virginia has since stood for sprang from his pen. Among these, are "the supremacy of Christ in the church, the authority of the Word of God, the equality of the ministers of religion, the individual rights of conscience."<sup>50</sup>

A collection of Mr. Davies' sermons, including most of those which had been printed during his life time, was published after his death, in three volumes, octavo. They have passed through several editions, both in Great Britain and in America, and are generally regarded as the most able and eloquent sermons in the English language. Besides his sermons, Mr. Davies was the author of several important documents of a public nature, and various hymns and other pieces of poetry, of no small degree of merit. One of his hymns, "Lord, I am Thine, entirely Thine" is in both the Methodist and Presbyterian hymnals of the present day.

Mr. Davies left very little estate, but the people of Philadelphia out of regard for him subscribed ninety-five pounds for three years to educate his sons, and the people of New York and Philadelphia raised between four and five hundred pounds for the support of his widow and two daughters.<sup>51</sup>

The influence of Hanover Presbytery, which he founded, has always been great on the people of Virginia. This Presbytery included the whole of Virginia and the greater part of North Carolina. Its influence was a factor in the formation of the civil constitution of Virginia. Mr. Davies' patriotism as well as his loyalty to Christ is fully shown in this quotation from his own pen. "I am laboring to do a little to save my country, and which is of much more consequence to save souls from death, from that tremendous kind of death which a soul can die." These words form a fitting close to the life of a man, who in everything he did, brought glory and honor to Christ and to his Church.

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<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>51</sup>Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, p. 561.  
Foot-note.





## THE DANGER NOT OVER.<sup>1</sup>

Although one of my age [eighty] can have little to hope, and less to fear, from harm of government, as rather belonging to the next world than to the present; and possibly may be charged with intermeddling where he has no interest, whenever he utters opinions concerning social regulations; yet I feel impelled by an anxious desire to promote the happiness of my country, to submit to the public consideration, some reflections on our present political state.

It is far from my intention to damp the public joy, occasioned by the late changes of our public agents, or to disturb the calm which already presages the most beneficial consequences; on the contrary, I consider this event as having arrested a train of measures which were gradually conducting us towards ruin.

These changes will be matter of tenfold congratulation, if we make the proper use of them; if instead of negligently reposing upon that wisdom and integrity, which have already softened even political malice, we seize the opportunity to erect new barriers against folly, fraud and ambition; and to explain such parts of the constitution, as have been already, or may be, interpreted contrary to the intention of those who adopted it.

This proposition does not argue a want of proper confidence in our present Chief Magistrate, but the contrary. It can be no censure to believe that he has no nobler destiny to fulfill, than that of making his contemporary countrymen happy for a few years; and that the rare event of such a character at the head of a nation, imposes on us the sacred duty of seizing the propitious opportunity to do all in our power to perpe-

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<sup>1</sup>This essay is from the pen of the celebrated jurist, Edmund Pendleton, born 1721, died 1803, and was originally intended as a warning and guide to Thomas Jefferson. It first appeared in 1801, but was republished in the *Richmond Enquirer* of December 11, 1828, as a warning and guide for Andrew Jackson. For a half century many Virginians regarded it as an important chapter of the Democratic faith. Thomas Ritchie of the *Enquirer* frequently mentioned it together with Madison's celebrated Report of 1799.—Ed.



tuates that happiness. As to that species of confidence which would extinguish free enquiry and popular watchfulness, it is never desired by *patriotism*, nor ought to be yielded by *freemen*.

In pursuit of our purpose, we ought to keep in mind certain principles which are believed to be sound; to enquire whether they have been violated under the constitution? and then consider how a repetition of these violations may be prevented!—as thus:

I. Government is instituted for the good of the community, and not to gratify avarice or ambition; therefore, unnecessary increase of debt—appointment of useless officers, such as stationary ministers to foreign countries with which we have little connection, and sixteen additional judges at a time when the business of the Federal Courts had greatly diminished—and engaging us in a war abroad, for the sake of advancing party projects at home, are abuses in government.

II. The chief good derivable from government is *civil liberty*; and if government is so constructed as to enable its administrators to assail that liberty with the several weapons heretofore most fatal to it, the structure is defective: of this sort, standing Armies—Fleets—severe penal Laws—War—and a multitude of civil officers, are universally admitted to be; and if our government can with ease and impunity, array these forces against social liberty, the constitution is defective.

III. Peace is undoubtedly that state which proposes to society the best chance for the continuance of freedom and happiness; and the situation of America is such, as to expose her to fewer occasions of war than any other nation; whilst it also disables her from gaining anything by war. But if, by indirect means, the executive can involve us in war, not declared by the legislature; if a treaty may be made which will incidentally produce war, and the legislature are bound to pass all laws to give it full effect; or if the judiciary may determine a war to exist, although the legislature have refused to declare it; then the constitution is defective, since it admits constructions which, pawn our freedom and happiness upon





the security of executive patriotism, which is inconsistent with republican principles.

IV. Union is certainly the basis of our political prosperity, and this can only be preserved by confining, with precision, the federal government to the exercise of powers clearly required by the general interest, or respecting foreign nations, and the state governments to objects of a local nature; because the states exhibit such varieties of character and interests, that a consolidated general government would be in perpetual conflict with state interests, from its want of local knowledge, or from a prevalence of local prejudice or interest, so as certainly to produce a civil war and disunion. If then the distinct provinces of the general and the state governments are not clearly defined; if the former may assail the latter by penalties, and by absorbing all subjects of taxation—if a system leading to consolidation may be formed and pursued—and if, instead of leaving it to the respective states to encourage their agriculture or manufactures, as their local interests may dictate, the general government may by bountys or protecting duties, tax the one to promote the other; then the constitution has not sufficiently provided for the continuance of the union, by securing the rights of the state governments and local interests.

V. It is necessary for the preservation of republican government that the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers should be kept separate and distinct from each other, so that no man, or body of men, shall be authorized to exercise more than one of them at the same time. The constitution, therefore, in consigning to the Federal Senate, a participation in the powers of each department, violates this important principle, and tends to create in that body a dangerous aristocracy, and

VI. An essential principle of representative government is that it be influenced by the will of the people; which will can never be expressed, if their representatives are corrupted or influenced by the hopes of office. If this hope may multiply offices and extend patronage—if the president may nominate to



valuable offices, members of the legislature, who shall please him, and displease the people, by increasing his powers and patronage—if he may be tempted to use his power and patronage for securing his re-election—and if he may even bestow lucrative diplomas upon judges, whilst they are receiving liberal salaries, paid as the price of their independence and purity; then a risk exists, lest the legislative should legislate—the judges decide—and the Senate concur in nominations, with an eye to those offices—and lest the president may appoint with a view to his re-election; and this may at length appear the phenomenon, of a government, republican in form, without possessing a single chaste organ for expressing the public will.

Many of these objections were foreseen, when the constitution was ratified, by those who voted for its adoption; but waved then, because of the vast importance of the union, which a rejection might have placed in hazard—of the provision made for amendments, as trial should discover defects—and the hope that in the mean time, the instrument with all its defects, might produce social happiness, if a proper tone was given to the government, by the several agents, in its operation. But since experience has evinced, that much mischief may be done under an unwise administration; and that even the most valuable parts of the constitution, may be evaded or violated, we ought no longer to rest our security upon the vain hope which depends upon the rectitude of fallible men in successive administrations. But now that the union is as firmly established by the general opinion of the citizens, as we can ever hope it to be, it behooves us to bring forward amendments, which may fix it upon *principles* capable of restoring human frailties.

Having, I trust, shewn the utility and necessity of such efforts at this time, I will adventure to submit to the consideration of my fellow citizens, with great humility and deference, whether it would be advisable to have the constitution amended:

1st. By rendering a president ineligible for a next Turn, and transferring from him to the legislature, the appointment



of judges, and stationary foreign ministers; making the stipends of the latter to be no longer discretionary in the president.

2. By depriving the Senate of all executive power; and shortening their term of service, or subjecting its members to removal by their constituents.

3. By rendering members of the legislature and the judges, whilst in office and for a limited time thereafter, incapable of taking any other office whatsoever (the offices of President and Vice-President excepted); and subjecting the judges to removal by the concurring vote of both houses of Congress.

4. By forming some check upon the abuse of *public credit*, which tho' in some instances useful, like Fleets & Armies, may, like those, be carried to extremes dangerous to liberty, and inconsistent with economical government.

5. By instituting a fair mode of impannelling juries.

6. By declaring that no treaty with a foreign nation, so far as it may relate to Peace or War,—to the expenditure of public money—or to commercial regulations, shall be law, until ratified by the legislature; the interval between such treaty and the next meeting of Congress, excepted, so far as may not relate to the grant of money.

7. By defining prohibited powers so explicitly, as to defy the wiles of construction. If nothing more should be granted, it will be a great acquisition, clearly to interdict laws relating to the freedom of speech,—of the Press—and of religion. To declare that the Common Law of England, or of any other foreign country, in criminal cases, shall not be considered as a law of the United States, and that treason shall be confined to the cases stated in the constitution, so as not to be extended further, by law, or construction, or by using other terms, such as sedition, &c., and

8. By making out with more precision, the distinct powers of the *General* and *State* Governments.

In the Virginia Bill of Rights is expressed the inestimable sentiment: "That no free government, or the blessings of





liberty, can be preserved by any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperence, frugality, and virtue; and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." A sentiment produced no doubt by the experience of the melancholy truth, "That of men advanced to power, more are inclined to destroy *liberty*, than to defend it; there is of course a continual effort for its *destruction*, which ought to be met by corresponding efforts for its *preservation*."

These principles and propositions are respectfully submitted to my fellow citizens, with this observation: "That it is only when great and good men are at the head of a nation, that the people can expect to succeed, in forming barriers to counteract recent encroachments on their rights; and when even a nation is so supine as to suffer such an opportunity to be lost, they will soon feel. That The Danger Was Not Over."

EDMUND PENDLETON.

Caroline County, Va., Oct. 5th, 1801.



## SOME LETTERS AND PAPERS OF GENERAL THOMAS GAGE.

The following letters and papers of General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America from 1763 to 1772, are a part of the George Rogers Clark Papers recently discovered in the basement of the Virginia State Library at Richmond, Virginia. The letters from Gage were written from New York to the officers in command of Fort de Chartres. They and the accompanying papers were probably taken from Rocheblave and sent by Clark to Williamsburg after the capture of Kaskaskia. Together with letters from Clark, Oliver Pollock, John and Israel Dodge, John Todd, William Shannon, and others and with thousands of vouchers for expenses in the Illinois country the Gage manuscripts seem to have been rejected by the editors of the Calendar of Virginia State Papers. Since that time this vast mass of material has reposed neglected and almost forgotten in the basement or the attic of the State Library. Vermin and exposure have wrought destruction with these papers, and it is with great difficulty that this small collection of the Gage manuscripts have been edited.—Editor.

New York July 7th: 1766.

Sirs,

I have received your Letters of the 18th and 28th of March and 8th of April.

It's very possible some English Traders from Detroit may have been plundered, particularly if they took the Route of the Illinois River. You will be so good to send me the best and most particular account you can get of the illicit Trade which you make Mention of; that Means may be fallen upon to prevent it.

Your greatest Distress I find is the Article of Provisions. which I could have sent you the more easily, had Captain Hastings [?] [manuscript defective] the 5th of March, that you





could be so short in the Article of Flour or Corn in lieu of Flour. They make out from Mr. Switzer's Return that you had then in store 22,120 Rations, of Flour, reckoning one Pound of Indian Corn-Meal, or one Pint of Indian, equal in Food to one Pound of Wheat Flour. In your Letter of 8th of April you say that the Consumption of the Garrison Pr. week is 1659 Pounds, at that Rate [manuscript defective] again that this Consumption Pr. Week is at the Rate of two Ration Pr. Man Pr. Week. If that is your Consumption and you only give two Rations Pr. Man Pr. Week your Garrison. should consist of 849 Men. In short there is something in all this that seems ill explained, or that is our fault in not understanding but however Capt. Murray is directed to leave no Means untryed to send you as much Provision as he possibly can, and I am in hopes that he will be able to send you sufficient to supply you till the Harvest is gathered which I suppose will be the Wheat Harvest the latter end of July or beginning of August. There are above one hundred Recruits for your Regt. now here and at Lancaster whom I do not propose to send till you have Plenty to feed them. The waters [manuscript defective] under the Care of Lieut Steele of your Regt. with Cloathing, Barrack Utensils and bedding Ammunition and a large Cargo of Provisions.

I am glad that the officers whom you complained of are brought to a sense of their Duty and that all is accomodated betwixt you. And at the same time am sorry you should have had occasion to make Complaint of such a Nature against Lieut. Pitman [manuscript defective] can't refuse, as his Pretentions are so very strong; if Lieut. Baugh and Ross can be spared when the other officers arrive and their Business very pressing you may in that case grant them also leaves of Absence.

I have already wrote about the staff of the Garrison of Fort Chartres, which must not be increased beyond what is mentioned with respect to the allowance for the officers Commanding that must be regulated at home, and shall be mentioned to the Secretary of War, when the out-Posts are established it will be Time to think of them. You will please to



transmit me a particular account of the Expence which the Garden costs the Regiment, I can conceive a good deal of labor in making one, but what cost there will be in [—?] you will let me know [manuscript defective] They will increase, it is new to them coming under the British Government. They may be startled when they find that the Spanish Governor is arrived, and prefer us to the Spaniards. I am glad the missionary Indians have been with you, and that you have settled with them in an Amicable Manner.

I am sorry that I can't send Capt. Lieut: Campbell's Resignation to the War Office, as I don't hear that he purchased. You will receive the Regulations about these Matters, and the orders to me are so strong that I can't venture to recommend any officer to sell a Commission which he did not purchase all I can do is to get them to exchange on half-Pay receiving the settled Difference.

When Leave shall be given to make Grants of lands the vacant Houses will be a Temptation for settlers to transport themselves down the ohio and should on that Account be preferred as much as possible.

Mr. Croghan and Captain Gordon will I hope be with you and have brought you some supplys of Provisions. Mr. Croghan will be able to judge of the Designs and Policy of the savages with respect to their conduct towards the English and French and nothing can be determined about Posts till Captain Gordon shall [manuscript defective] I shall succeed in getting one which may be a means of keeping the Inhabitants with us.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant

THOS. GAGE.

New York July 15th: 1767.

Sir,

I am to acknowledge your letter of the 3d of April, by which you give me to understand that all Species of provisions can be had at the Illinois except Pork, some of which wou'd



be wanted: but all you say of this is that Pork wou'd answer best; You send no Return of your Stores, no state of your weekly consumption, or say what quantity of Pork you will stand in need of: Neither has your Deputy Commissary wrote a line upon this subject or any other matter which concerns his Department, to his Principal Mr: Leake. By this I am thrown into as great uncertainty as ever about the Supplies to be sent to you, and what I shall forward to you is upon conjecture; Concluding you have had the foresight to preserve the Pork brought you by Lieut: Steele to serve the Summer, and that you have not issued Pork 'till you shou'd be no longer able to issue Beef.

You tell Me it will be impossible to return boats to Fort Pitt, because of the difficulty of the falls, and that the french say, it can not be done under 15 Men to each Boat, and then only at a particular time, which is in March. I wish the French had informed you how they contrived to pass the Falls with the large boats they use on the Mississippi, loaded with provisions in the year 1758, for the purpose of victualling the Garrison of Fort Pitt, then Fort Duquesne. I understand from Mr. Croghan, that the letter I now answer was brought by a trader's Boat which came up the Ohio: And if you had question'd him, Captain Gordon, or Ensign Hutchins, when they were at Fort Chartres about the navigation of the Ohio, I am of opinion that you wou'd have received a different information. As Boats must absolutely come up the Ohio, I shall send by Lieut: Phyn of the 21st: Regiment, a Copy of a plan of the falls as taken by Lieut: Hutchins by Captn: Gordon's order, and under his Inspection, which will serve to guide all Boats navigating the Ohio, and when the Waters are low, direct them to the best and shortest Carrying Place. A Small Carrying Place in a River may impede, but must not stop his Majesty's Forces in the prosecution of their Orders. Lieut: Steele has passed the falls, and can give any further information, if wanted. The Men must carry over their provisions and Baggage, and then get their Boats over when the Waters are low, Which method is practised in other





places; for there are many falls in the Rivers in America, which the troops are obliged to pass.

Upon Lieut: Phyn's arrival at the mouth of the Ohio, You will send him assistance to bring up his Boats, loaded with provisions, tools, and necessaries for the Regiment, and allow him only as many Boats, & as much provision as shall be necessary to carry him to Mobile: The Boats will hold at least 25 Men each, with their provisions. The remainder of the Boats you will keep, as most of them you will bring back to Fort Pitt, agreeable to the Orders that will be sent you, and you will also bring with you, your Spare Arms, leaving 100 stand at Fort Chartres, for the use of the Garrison, upon an emergency. The Man of your Regiment at Detroit will be sent you from thence if it can be done, otherwise he will be forwarded to this place.

As you tell Me Ensign Dan has wrote to Lord Frederick Cavendish, and you not having sent me his Resignation, there is no occasion for Me to do any thing in this Affair.

It is reported, that a number of Spanish Troops were either arrived or on their way to the Villages opposite to you, to relieve Mr: St: Ange, and the other French Officers and Troops that were posted there: But as you say Nothing of an Affair so interesting, I conclude it is only a false Rumour.

The Provision purchased at the Illinois is excessive dear: The Ration at Fort Pitt after some hundred Miles land Carriage is issued at 9D  $\frac{1}{2}$  Sterling: It comes much heavier at the Illinois, at the rate you purchase it from the Inhabitants. I must beg of you to lower these exorbitant prices as much as possible.

I shall forward to you, one Box of Dollars containing agreeable to the inclosed Invoice, One thousand pounds Sterling, for the Subsistance of the 34th: Regiment, This is done by guess, and on account without regular Abstracts, for I am ignorant how your accounts stand. You will use every means to keep this Cash in the Country, and to prevent it's being carried away by the Traders.

Lieut: Steele has carried away the whole Cloathing of the



Regiment, which is by far more than necessary, and the Recruits of your Regt: that are and will be at Fort Pitt, under Lieut: McLellan, amounting to about 138 Men, are destitute of Cloathing, but I hope it will soon arrive from England, and a sufficient quantity will then be sent up to them at Fort Pitt.

The tools are sent you in case of Accidents, to entrench or otherwise put yourself in a posture of Defense: But I hope you will leave no means whatever untried for the preservation of Fort Chartres. If the place should be unfortunately lost, I think you must so far have notice as to be able to save the Stores, and many other things, which will be of use in the erecting of a new Fortification; I have already told you I did not approve of the plan proposed for fortifying the Village of Kaskaskies, Captain Gordon has wrote fully to Lieut: Pitman upon this subject, whose letters will have fallen into your hands & will serve to inform you of his Sentiments as well as mine on this head. I have nothing to retract in this Business, unless you cou'd find a safe and good Commanding spot at the Junction of the Kaskaskies River with the Mississippi: Such a situation wou'd be far preferable to any, if the Boats could be secured there, and the Mississippi so commanded by your Guns, as to protect any Boats coming with Supplies, Who in such case might run under the protection of the Guns without being obliged to land, or exposed, by going up a narrow River, from the Banks on each side. You will examine, and consider this maturely as it is of consequence. You will not only consider, Whether any spot at the Junction of the two Rivers, can be found to answer the purposes mentioned, but that it is also dry, and not marshy, or subject to the overflowings of the Rivers, and that it is not commanded by any neighboring heights. If such a situation for a Fort can be found, I repeat it, that I preferr it to the Hill proposed opposite the Kaskaskies Village.

I am to add a word about the nature of your procuring Supplies of provisions. Your provisions for the year shou'd be all stored, as soon as possible after the harvest is in, so as to be within your Walls, by the middle or end of February





at the farthest: The reason for which is, that if the Indians shou'd confederate to attack your Fort, they will not be collected from their hunting grounds before the end of March at soonest, & can't then prevent your provisions being brought in. they can never succeed in taking the smallest fortification but by Surprise, or the starving them out of it: The first I am sure you will guard against by proper vigilance day and night, and never suffering a large number of Indians to be within your Gates; And if on a Conference more than ordinary number should come in and a considerable Body be waiting near the Fort You will prevent any bad designs they may have, by keeping your Garrison on their Guard, and under arms. And as for starving you, If you will take the precautions mentioned to lay in your provisions at a seasonable time, they will not succeed. They can not invest you longer than to the Month of October, had they even patience to do it, for they must then all return to their hunting grounds.

I am,

Sir

Your most Obedient, and Most humble Servant

THOS. GAGE.

Colonel Reed.

Fort Chartres Illinois.

New York 11th October 1768.

Sir,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 15th of August, wrote at the distance of 150 Miles below the Ohio Falls; I am very glad you have passed the Falls without loss, and are so far proceeded on your Route; By the same Opportunity I received a Letter from Capt Forbes who Commands at Fort Chartres, Containing Intelligence that the Indians of St Vincent had brought in Nine English Scalps, and Eight Horses, loaded with Peltry, he likewise mentions the Same Indians having Attacked a party of Virginia Hunters upon the Green River (which he says Emptys itself into the Ohio) where they killed One Man and took another Prisoner who



made his Escape to Fort Chartres and I suppose to be the Man You mention, but what he had to do at the Natches, I can't Understand, I fancy it's some Mistake. I Have likewise an Account, (which Seems in general to agree with the above Narration) of an Attack made by the Indians, upon a party from Fort Chartres, from Mr Stuart, the Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, An Extract of which I transmit to you; Youll Observe a Remark thereupon, and indeed there is much reason in it for the Indians look upon their Hunting Grounds as their property, and Affording them the means of Subsistence; And if Our People will break in upon them without their Consent, & Destroy their game, which is their only means of Support, they must Expect to be ill treated.

Captain Forbes Acquaints Me, that he hears the Chiefs of the Villages intended going to Fort Chartres, to beg Peace and Forgiveness, and that he shall detain them Prisoners till he hears from me, or they deliver up the Men that Committeed the Murders. It is a bad method to Seize Indians when they come volantly to You, as it is a Sort of a Breach of Publick Faith; And may Occasion their breaking out into Open Hostilities immediately: Sir William Johnson is made Acquainted with this Affair and desired to demand Satisfaction in a proper Way. You will restrain, The Traders and their People from going to Hunt, for the purpose of Collecting Deer Skin, or Peltry of any kind upon their Grounds, as they must Expect no Protection in such Undertakings.

I Should be very Glad, to Comply with your Request of Sending You the 2 Companys from Fort Pitt, if the Service would admit of it, but at present there is no prospect of it; You have a Company more than was at first Intended, and I can't but think, and I flatter myself You'll find it a Sufficient Force to manage the King's business in that Country.

I am,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

THOS. GAGE.



P: S:

You'll acquaint Captain Forbes of my having received his Letter, & answered it to you.<sup>1</sup>

Lt: Colol: Wilkins,  
Or Officer Commandg the  
18 Regt at the Illinois.

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<sup>1</sup>The following comments, supposedly by Colonel Wilkins, were made on the margin of the above letter:

The 2d. Janry. I was honored with Y. E. letter of yr. 11 Octo. & beg to Observe that the man that came from the Natches was one of the Virginia hunters returning from that place with several horseload of Skins which was taken from them near the Greenriver in the Cherokie Country, that poor fellow is just now come from Fort Pitt, & very ill haveing had a riffle Ball shot thro his leg by Accident I shall pay a due regard to the property of the Indians it is endless as it may be groundless to Acquaint Y. E. with the various reports of different Nations going to war. The Illinois Indians with our French subjects are jealous at the Cherokies & Chickasaws & being such fast friends to us & have often spoke to me thereon, I seemingly persuade them all to peace & an some respects it might make the passage of the Ohio safe for a little time but Querie whether or not a time those Nations united might not be of worse Consequence, I believe so.

In the last part of Y. E. letter of ye. 11 Octo gives me but little hopes of more of our Cos. coming to this place, I presume that your G. will Excuse my repeated requests on that head as it was with a view of making this Country a real benefit to G. Britain.





H. E. The Genle. Gage  
11 Octo. 67  
2 Janry reed.  
11 Feby. Ansd.

to the Comg officer  
18th Regt. Illinois  
1768

New York 24th: March 1769.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 1st: of November, together with their Proclamations, two of which respected Trade, the other concerning the Distribution of Justice. An Account of a bad Fever which had attacked the Troops under your Command; a List of the French & Spanish Settlements. Some proposals for Victualling the Troops, Returns of Engineers Stores, Orders about Indian Presents. A Memorial respecting Commissions Vacant in the 18th: Regimt: & an abstract of Receipts of Lieut Ancrum of 34th Regt. for Provisions delivered at Kaskaskias.

Mr Leake is made acquainted with your Paragraphs about his Depy. Mr Moore, who I fear has been very idle, he certainly has not paid the attention to his Instructions that he ought to have done, and I hope soon to see him here, to settle his Accounts.

From the Return you have Sent, there is as you Observe a great Deficiency of Stores. But how it has been Occasioned, Colonel Reed who has been here, can give no Account. I hope you will be able to make some discovery in this matter.

Your advice to the Savages was a Salutary one, & I am glad you already feel the good Effect of it, which will Appear more every day, so as to make them sensible of it, and pleased with it.

The Disorder which has afflicted you, has been a dreadful one; I have shewn the account you transmitted to the Surgeons of the Hospital, who pronounce it to be of the same kind as



the distemper which attacked the 26th Regimt: in the Jerseys, and your own at Philadelphia, and assure me that the Winter season would stop it, and recover your Convalescents. I hope your next Accounts will inform me that they are right in forming this Judgment; a Supply of Medicines shall be sent you by first Opportunity.

You are doing every thing you can that some sort of Justice may be carried on in the Settlements. I would advise in whatever is done, to let the Inhabitants carry those matters on themselves, and not to Appear yourself in them, but when your authority shall be necessary to restrain injustice. There cannot be many nice affairs of great Consequence to determine. But I would have you avoid giving any handle to Litigious People, who might hereafter endeavor to hamper you with tricks of Law. Colo Reed was arrested at Lancaster for taking care of the Effects of People, and getting them Sold at Auction, after the decease of the Person who had them in charge. Capt: Forbes brought the Money the Goods Sold for, which put an end to all proceedings. I relate this for your Information.

It is to be wished you may be able to make an Example of some of your Deserters, as well as of those who excite them to Desert; If you can lay hold of any from the otherside, with Sufficient proof, it is Death to Enlist Men for foreign Service, and you may send them guarded to Philadelphia to take their Tryal. You will have trouble enough to keep the Rascals you have to deal with in proper Order.

St. Vincent should certainly have a detachment, was it only to keep the Inhabitants within bounds. As for the several Posts so often talked of, we must wait orders from Home. It will be Expensive to erect them, as well as to maintain them. All these matters are before His Majesty's Ministers, and I am given to hope for a speedy answer. You must be the best Judge of the kind of Boat proper for the propose, and it must be left to you. I wish you was near enough to send down all vagabonds and Strollers who go to the Illinois or St Vincent's from the Provinces, For those Interior Settlements,





must not be Suffered to increase with the fugitive French and Canadians, who go thither to get Shelter from Creditors, or escape from Justice, for their Crimes. They will be too formidable in a short time, if Suffered to Encrease.

All the 34th Regimt: Assembled at Philadelphia before Christmas, and the 2 Companys of the 18th have remained at Fort Pitt, so that it was not practicable to send you the Reinforcement you have desired, at the Time you fixed. And as for Reinforcements in general, the Cash you desire to be sent, the Pitch, Oakum &c., as well as the Cloathing & Supply of Stores to make up Dificienys; All I can say on those heads now is, that I must wait for Resolutions from home respecting the future destiny of the Illinois. I am told it will be determined soon, the moment I receive it, I shall be able to determine myself what to do. At present I am in a state of Uncertainty respecting you. I wish more of the King's Boats had been sent up with Captn. Forbes.

Don Riu has probably left you, and gone after Don Ulloa to the Havanna. The Treatment which the Spaniards have received, and the good understanding between you and Don Riu, may have inclined him to open his heart, and to inform you of the truth of the many Reports we have had of French officers and others going amongst the Nations with Belts, and Endeavoring to set the Indians against the English. If he knows anything worth discovering I hope you will have it in his answer to the Paper left with him, which Capt: Turnbull sent you from Detroit.

It appears to me that you could not have done any thing more beneficial to the Country where you are, than to call in the Bons, And to forbid the Issuing anymore. Your making them no legal Tender would discredit them immediately.

Your Letter to Sir John Sebright was forwarded by first Packet, and I have sent Recommendations home, according to Seniority in the Regiment. You had made some mistakes by being unacquainted with circumstances that had happened in it.

Mr Commissary Moore should be sent here to settle his ac-



counts immediately, for all the Provision accounts are in Confusion. The Certificate of Provision delivered at Kaskaskias, Signed by Lieut Anerum, is sent to Philadelphia, that Lieut Anerum may give an account thereof.

You mention the having made a Contract to Victual the Troops at the Illinois. I imagine you only mean, that certain People would engage to supply Provisions, at the rates mentioned in the Paper you inclosed, regarding that affair. We are not authorized to make Contracts. The Treasury has made one, and tho' only Stipulated to be in force for one Year, it will remain in Force, till the Treasury or the Contractor annul it. The Treasury waits information, to try if they can make a better bargain; And I would have sent home the proposals you sent me, but first submitting it to the Inspection of Mr Commissary General Leake, I find by his Remarks that the present Agreement with the Contractors, is more Advantageous to the Crown, than the proposals you have sent in. I transmit you a Copy of those remarks, and if you can say any thing to invalidate them, or furnish me Sufficient intelligence for the Treasury, proving that the Contractors might Supply the Troops at a less Price than they now do, I shall transmit it to their Lordship's. If you should inadvertently have taken up any Provisions upon the Contract, which you say, You have made to Victual the Troops, Manage it so without delay, that the Contractors Agents, make take said Provisions at the Price you agreed to take them at, & that the Issues may be made as usual, or we shall go into more Confusion, then I can well set right again.

I am, with great Regard,

Sir,

Your most ebedient

Humble Servant

THO GAGE.

Lieut Colonel Wilkins, 18th Regt:  
Or officer Commanding F. Chartres.

P: S. Your orders to the Trading Company are as proper as they were necessary, and if they go contrary thereto, Messrs:



Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, must thank themselves, if Payment is refused to the Bills they produce. Sir William Johnson has acquainted me long since, that he had ordered Mr: Cole away from the Illinois, so be pleased to send him off. All the Commissarys in general are ordered from the several Posts, and in deed I believe the Service will not be the worse for their absence. You will know that the management of the Trade is now left to the Provinces.

You will be so good on all occasions, to give every Assistance in your Power to the Contractor's Agents, which the Treasury desire may be done at all Times.

T. G.

New York Sept. 30th: 1770

Sir,

I have no Letter of yours unanswered; but hearing that Mr. Murray thinks of returning speedily to the Illinois, I am anxious to be informed of every Consequence you judge, from the Experience you have now had, that Great Britain may draw from the Illinois Country.

It is first to be considered what advantages may be reaped by increasing the Settlement, so as to form an extensive Colony in which neither the feeding of the Garrisons or the Trade of the Indians are objects of Consideration. The Garrisons can be supplied with Provision by a few Inhabitants and the Traders might pursue their Commerce tho' there was not a Single Settler in the whole Country.

It is also worthy attention how to prevent the Traders on the Spanish Side from intruding into the King's Territorys and vending their Goods to the Indians, and having thereby opportunity to alienate their affections from the English. The erecting Posts at the Confluence of the Illinois and ohio Rivers with the Mississippi, has been often proposed as an effectual Method to stop such Evil Practices; and tho' a Post on the ohio might be usefull in this respect to stop the foreign Traders from pushing their Commerce up the oubache and so to the Miamies, and possibly up the ohio as far as Sioto, yet I don't





see that their going up the Illinois, can be of much advantage to them or Detriment to us; there are no powerfull Nations upon the River, and all the Nations round Lake Michigan, trade with the French and English from Canada, who sell their goods cheaper than those from the Illinois can possibly do. And tho' the erecting Posts on one or both the before mentioned Rivers, should answer the Purpose of stopping the foreign Traders, it may be a Question whether the fullfilling that End, would answer the great Expense of erecting and Supporting the Posts. It is to be conceived likewise from the Vicinity of the Spaniards and the vast Tract of Country to guard opposite to them, that it is next to impossible to prevent their running Goods on our Side; it is true we have the same oppertunitys of running English Goods on the Spanish Side: and from thence I have formed the opinion I have mentioned in former Letters, that the Nation who Sells the best and cheapest Goods, will generally carry the greatest part of the Trade of the Illinois Country. However their stealing Goods upon us in that Manner is not so detrimental as their going among those Nations whom we call our Indians, and alienating their affections from us.

I am next to deliver your Thoughts on the best Means of obtaining as extensive a Trade as can be derived from the Situation of the Country. You have talked of Settlements and Posts a few Leagues above the Illinois, but this is an expensive Manner of trading and indeed should it be adopted there would be no End to our Posts, for the same reasons would establish a Chain of Posts, even up to the Falls of St: Anthony. The French find their advantage in going up the River to very distant Nations, a Practice rather hurtfull, because if they did not go up with their Goods, the Indians would come down for them; but as this is the Practice there is no altering it; and I don't see that our Traders can otherwise defeat the French, then by following the same Methods. The distant Nations have been down to Fort Chartres, and Presents to an immense value have been made to them at different times, sufficient to engage them to protect our Traders, if they like their Goods and Manner of dealing. Those Nations should



certainly be talked to on these subjects on every occasion; and not only engaged to promise their Protection, but to have Belts and strings to confirm their Engagements; and I conceive by such management, that our Traders might proceed into the upper parts of the Mississippi, and into the streams which fall into it, with as much safety as the French. And on meeting with any French among the Indians on the East-side Complaints should be made of it to the Spanish Commander and Endeavours used to seize them.

I lastly Submit to your Consideration the most effectual Manner of bringing all the Peltry obtained by the Commerce of the Mississippi into British Ports. Is it practicable to oblige the Traders to carry their Peltry from the Mississippi, either to Philadelphia New York, or Quebec, or will they in spite of us carry it down the Mississippi, as it is the easiest, shortest, and I suppose likewise the cheapest Route to the sea. I would be understood to mean Traders in general Terms, without Allusion to any particular set of Men who might be trusted

I would beg your Thoughts and opinion on these Matters in the fullest Manner and as soon as you can.

Ten Boats are building at Fort Pitt, which I hope will be compleated by Christmas and will serve to supply those that wear out. You may now send a Boat or two up the ohio for any things you may be in want of in the spring. I hope the defection will bring the Indians on the oubache to Reason, and I think you might likewise talk to those Nations to behave better for the future and to protect the Traders.

I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THOS. GAGE.

Lieut: Colo Wilkins 18th Regt:  
or offr. Commdg. Fort Chartres.

New York August 30th. 1772

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 10th: of June from Kaskies [manuscript defective] you repeat the necessity of





[manuscript defective] of haveing a French Interpreter also as you [manuscript defective]

If you had known Indians better I [manuscript defective] that the Quarrell you relate with the Chikesaws would never have happened. you have dealt with riotous Indians as if they had been a qublin mob, and the makeing one of them a Prisoner appears to have been the Cause of the Tradey that followed. What you designed when you took that Fellow Prisoner may be guessed, but I have no Conception for what Reasons you detain him Prisoner till you hear from me. Whatever Danger there might be in his being released, you can't imagine I would send you orders to put him to Death, or to send him to be tryed by our Law-Courts upon the Riot Act. All I can perceive from your Letter that he is guilty of, is a Riot; for you had secured him in your Guard, so that he had no Concern in the Fireing. The French have now a fine opportunity to set us at variance with the Chikesaws Nation and I doubt not will make the best use of it. I wish this law is not revenged upon the Indian Agents, Interpreters and Traders in the Chikesaw Nation, for the formal manner in which the Troops were drawn out, by order and under the authority of the Commanding officer, will make the affair appear to them in the Light of war actually commenced against them by the English.

You must get out of a bad serape as well as you can. You will release the Prisoner letting him know how sorry the English are for what has happened, tho' the loss they have sustained has proceeded from their own bad Behavior, and putting the English under the necessity of fireing upon them to [manuscript defective] was the Prisoner of any other [manuscript defective] Chikesaw for whom the English have the [manuscript defective] regard, the General would have ordered him to be put to death instead of releasing him. Could you contrive to send him to his Nation with some such speech to the Chiefs, accompanied with a proper Belt, and a few Presents to the Relations of those who are killed, in order as the Indians term it, to cover the Dead, I think it would be



the best method you can take to patch up the affair with the Nation.

You will lay in no more Provision this Fall than what will be sufficient to last the Garrison till the End of May. I hope to send you farther orders on this and other matters before that time. You will receive Letters from me on the Subject of Provision affairs, which have been strangely managed in the Illinois; and I wish Mr: DeBerniere had paid more attention to the Instructions he received from the Commissary General.

I perceive by a Letter from Major Hamilton that the Inhabitants had rejected the Proposals made to them on the subject of a Civil Government; referring to a Plan of Government they had agreed to, and transmitted me by the Hands of Monsr: Blouin. You will inform the Inhabitants that I have seen Monsier Blouin and his Privy Councillor Monsr. Clajon but that I have not entered into any Conference with them on the subject nor will ever treat with either of them on those Points. And that I will receive nothing of the kind but thro' the hands of the Commanding officer.

I hope to hear from you concerning the King's orders to the Settlers at Post-Vincent which were not arrived till after Major Hamilton's [manuscript defective]

The [manuscript defective] by what authority he contracted those expenses has not come to my knowledge yet. There is a long account of Presents to Indians, but to what end I know not, unless it was to murder our People at the Illinois, and drive our Traders out of the ouabache. It is possible Sr. Wm: Johnson may have employed Monsr. St. Marie and if it turns out so, he must send the Account to him for I will have nothing to do with it; of which you will please to inform him.

I am,

Your most obedient,  
humbel Servant

THO. GAGE.



P: S:

You will consider that the Post you occupy is only a temporary one, and you will incur no Expence upon it. When things are finally decided you will hear farther from me on many Points respecting your situation.

T: G:

Captain Lord 18th: Regt: or officer Commanding  
at Kaskaskies Illinois Country.

[manuscript defective]

I am to urge it to you very strongly to make the strictest Enquiry into the Cause of such large Condemnations at one single Post, in the Course of less than twelve Months; and that you take every Precaution that can be taken to prevent the like happening for the future. How to pass such Accounts or what Reasons to give for them when they are transmitted home, I am really at a loss to know. I am, with great Regard

Sir,

Your Most obedient  
humbel Servant

THOS. GAGE.

Colo. Reed or offr. Commdg. 34th Regt.

Fort Chartres.

PROCEEDINGS of a general Court martial held at Fort Chartres on the 27th of November 1766 by order of John Reed Esqr Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel of, and commanding his Majestys Thirty Fourth Regiment of Fort————





Captain Alexander Dundas President

Captain Gordon Forbes  
Captain Lt. James Campbell  
Lieutenant John Ross  
William Ancrum  
Ensign William Wood  
James Savage

34th  
Members  
Regt.

Captain Edward Pownal  
Lieutenant William Baugh  
Thomas Ford  
Ensign William Robinson  
James Wainwright  
Charles Dan

Lieutenant Philip Pittman Deputy Judge Advocate

The Court being duly sworn, proceeded to the Trial of Serjeant William Johnston, and John Wells soldier of the Thirty Fourth Regiment confin'd by order of Colonel Reed for desertion.

Elizabeth the Wife of Edward Hurrol Soldier, being call'd to the Court and sworn, acquaints the Court that John Wells told her that Serjeant Johnston was going away, and that she sent to acquaint her husband of it, as Serjeant Johnston was indebted to her.

Edward Hurrol call'd and sworn, informs the court, That being one day on guard he received a message from his wife that Serjeant Johnston was going to desert; he went directly to the Serjeant and question'd him about it, who denied it: shortly after, he saw the said Serjeant go out of the Fort



gates, and in a few moments after that, seeing Serjeant Miles coming into the Fort, he told him of the message he had received from his wife concerning Serjeant Johnston; on this he accompanied Serjeant Miles to the Barrack to search the place where Johnston was used to keep his necessaries, most of which were gone.

Serjeant  
John  
Miles.

Serjeant John Miles being call'd to the Court and sworn, informs them that on saturday the eighteenth of october, about two o'clock in the afternoon he went down to the Village to his Washerwoman in order to get his linnen; on his return, when entering the Fort Gate; he was spoke to by Edward Hurrol who inform'd him that he had heard that Serjeant Johnston was going to desert; on this he went into his Barrack, and on examining the place where Serjeant Johnston kept his necessaries, found that most of them were gone, from thence he went immediately and acquainted his officer Ensign Wainwright, with what had pass'd, and afterwards further informed him that the said serjeant Johnston was absent both at the beating the retreat and Tatoo: he heard [manuscript defective] of him till he was brought a prisoner into the [manuscript defective]

Serjeant  
Jeremiah  
Fatherby.

Serjeant Jeremiah Fatherby call'd to the Court and sworn, declares that on the eighteenth of October, at about eight o'clock at night John Wells being absent, he went to examine the place where he was used to keep his necessary's, which not being able to find, acquainted his officer Captain Dundas immediately with these circumstances; he heard nothing of the prisoner untill his confinement next morning in the guard house.

Edward  
Cole  
Esqr.  
Commissary  
for  
Indian  
affairs.

Edward Cole Esqr Commissary for Indian affairs, being sworn gives evidence, that sometime ago Ensign Wainwright delivered to him the Compliments of Coll. Reed, who desired him if any Indians were in the way to send them after some soldiers who had deserted; he then desired Ensign Wainwright to ask the Coll. for an order in writing that should direct how far the Indians might proceed after them, and if they could not secure them alive, to authorize them to put them to death;





in the mean time he sent for the Indians. Mr Wainwright soon retired with the Colls. written order, in which were particular descriptions of the persons of the deserters, and amongst them he particularly remembers the name of Johnston, and the order authoriz'd the Indians in case of resistance to kill them. that he sent three or four Indians immediately, and next day heard that they had taken two deserters whom they had found in a Barn, and had deliver'd them to a File of Soldiers, who had conducted the Prisoners to the Fort.

Serjeant Peter Ellis sworn, informs the court that being on guard on the 19th of Octr. early in the morning Capt. Lieut Campbell sent one of his servants to demand a File of men to secure some deserters, who were taken by the Indians in a Barn; that he immediately acquainted the officer of the guard with Captain Lieut Campbells message, who order'd a file of men with a Corporal to be sent to bring them in; the Corporal returned in about three quarters of an hour with the two prisoners in charge of the File of men.

Corporal Daniel Lever being call'd and sworn, acquaints the Court that on the 19th of October in the morning, the serjeant of the guard sent him out with a File of men and being guided by an Indian to a Barn, where he saw the prisoner John Wells, who said, here is a party of men come for us; to which Serjeant Johnston replied that he intended to return to the Fort as soon as the gates should be open; then the Serjeant delivered to him his sword, and he proceeded with the said Serjeant Johnston and [manuscript defective] Wells to the Fort, and lodged them in the guard Room.

Question by the Court. Did you find with the deserters when you took [manuscript defective] arms or necessaries. [manuscript defective] but no arms except the serjeant sword. Prisoners call'd on their Defence.—

On the 17th of October Serjeant Cropper, who was suspended a few days before, stood Centinel at the Fort Gate, when he asked me if I chose to take a walk with him on the morrow, being the 18th; I asked him whereto; he told me, not far, and I agreed. The next day he accordingly sent me a message



about eleven o'clock before noon, that he wanted to speak with me; not going, he sent me two or three other messages; at last I went, being at about one o'clock in the afternoon, and found him drinking with some others in the barn, in which I was apprehended; I sat down and drank with them; he several times asked me if I would desert with him, during the time they were drinking; I constantly refused him; in the mean time John Prynnne went to the Fort and brought my sword with him from the Barrack, which he had secretted in the lining of his coat; and delivered it to me, saying that he had brought down my things, as there was a report in the Fort that I was going to desert, and that I had better go off. I answered, that it was never my design, and that I would leave them immediately; on which, Serjeant Cropper desired I would stay a little longer, and still urged me to desert; but I continued to refuse; he darn'd me, and said I had spoild their design. They left Wells and me about sun sett in the barn, and I never saw them after. I was so much intoxicated, that I was not able to return that night to the Fort, but it was my design to attend my Duty next morning. I have served in this Regiment ten years and was never before brought to a Court Martial; and I hope from my former good character to merit in some degree clemency of the Court.

Lieutenant Baugh, being desired by the prisoner to acquaint the court with his character, says that he has known the prisoner these six years, and that he has served as Corporal and private during three years and a half of that time, in the same Company with himself; and that he never knew him behave otherwise than as a good soldier.

What I have to say is nearly to the same purpose as what Serjeant Johnston has before delivered; I have been enticed by my comrades and have too much listened to their discourses; but my heart relented and I at last determined to quitt them and return to my duty. I was too much in liquor the night we were in the barn, to put this resolution in execution but can assure you that it was my intention to do it as soon as [manuscript defective] be open'd the next morning. I hope



the Court will have pity on me in consideration of my having before served nine years in the Regiment with a good character.

Sentence of the Court.

It is the opinion of the Court that the Prisoners are guilty of the crime laid to their charge, and fall under the first article of the sixth Section of the Articles of War. They sentence accordingly Serjeant William Johnston to be reduced to serve in the ranks as private [manuscript defective] receive one thousand lashes; they also sentence John Wells soldier to receive one thousand lashes.—

Ch: Pittman

A: Dundas

Depy. Judge Advocate

Presidt

HeadQuarters New York May 17th: 1769

I approve the above sentence of the Genl. Court Martial upon the Prisoners William Johnston, Serjt: and John Wells private soldier both of the 34th Regt. But leave it to the descretion of the officer Commanding to put the Punishment adjudged the said Prisoners in execution, and at such Times, and proportions as to him shall seem right and proper.

THOS. GAGE.

Fort Pitt 16th April 1769—

Dear Sir

I send with this the Vouchers for Provisions issued to the Eighteenth Regiment. Some of which was sent to me from the Commessary Generals Office. The Abstracts from that office I have detained to send by the next opportunity, least by some Accident these should misearry the person in whose hand writing the detained Abstracts were wrote in is well known both by you and Mr. Murray and on Occation may serve as Vouchers of themselves—

I sent you some vouchers for provisions issued to the same regt. before. It would be very agreeable to me if you would





be pleas'd to let me know if thay are Come to Hand. and what numbers you have received mentioning the different Papers where issued. This is a request from the Commissary General you know, as well as my self with what Punctuality he expects such Inteligence, which when received by him is very Agreeable and more so to me as it will be in my power to Comply with his Orders. I have sent him an Account of what has hitherto be forwarded. but if he receives an account of there arrived to you he then will be assured his Orders have been Complied with—

If Doctor Connelly is near you. Should be much obliged if you will enquire of him if he actually sent the Money by Mr Peretor as he wrote me he would. for the Condemn'd Provisions he bought at Vandue at Fort Pitt. the amount of which was £12. 10 s. or 12/| besides six Barrels to be returned to the store when Empty'd, for which he did not or was to pay 20/| p Barrel. After taken his word for near 12 Months he left Fort Pitt the spring before you came there with Jules [?] at Philada: and never made any provision to discharge sd Demand which I believe Mr Austen Prety can Evidence.—

I am my Dear McMillen Your sincere Friend and Most obedient Humble Servant.

JOHN REED.

Mr Commissary McMillen.

Ft Pitt 16th Apl 1769

John Read

Reed at Ft Chartres on  
the night of the 19th May 1769.

Fort Pitt 6th June 1769—

Dear Sir,

Inclosed is an Account of Pork now in three of the Contractors Boats Loaded so long ago the Date in sd Account the Day following I understood the Boats being halld of in the midle of the Monongehala wated for Flour that Expected in a week or two Mr. Ross the manager for the Contractors here



was going to send them with out any Flour for the Illinois [manuscript defective] it seems he changed his mind [manuscript defective] Mr Ross said something that I sopose you will allow to be reasonable which was that Mr Murray had not sent him any Account he did not know how to supply him. If Mr Ross means that Mr Murray should send him a return Murray may think it much to low him to do it Trade which make the Contractors people rich makes them often above there business I now propose to Open a Corespondence relative to the state of the stores which If Mr McMillan will be so kind as to Inform me in a line what Provisions is on hand and what may be wanting for the Kings troops I will write to [manuscript defective] and urge the matter to my Com-manding officer here it may be of service If Mr McMillan thinks so then shall be pleased to strike out the means of better Supply-ing the Troops there is also in the boat 300 bushels of salt some other articles in the [manuscript defective] way I say on my knowing the state of your stores I can Acquaint the Com-missary General with them and tho he may have returnes from both him and you of the mode and method they take for the forwarding of such Suplys be pleas'd to Excuse this as Colonel Armstrong sets out for your place sooner than I Expected and have not time to correct or copy this.

Am Sir

Your Humble servt.

JOHN REED.





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# THE JOHN P. BRANCH HISTORICAL PAPERS OF RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE

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In Memoriam

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Colonel John P. Branch

Born 1830 == Died 1915

Patron of

The Branch Historical Papers

of

Randolph-Macon College



THE JOHN P. BRANCH  
HISTORICAL PAPERS  
OF  
RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE

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PREFACE

The originals of the Preston Manuscripts published in this number of the John P. Branch Historical Papers include all the important papers of a small collection recently placed in the Virginia State Library at Richmond. Those here printed were copied and collated by Mr. R. B. Marston, a student in Randolph-Macon College and the author of the biography of Preston, which also appears in this issue of the Branch Papers. For permission to use the Preston Manuscripts, as well as for aid in other ways and on other occasions, acknowledgments are due Dr. H. R. Mellwaine, the efficient and obliging Librarian of the Virginia State Library, and to his capable assistant, Mr. Earl G. Swem.

There are yet a few complete sets of the Branch Historical Papers which can be sold to those who desire them at two dollars per volume. Persons having in their possession or having knowledge of papers or letters that could be used in the writing of biographies of George W. Summers, James A. Seddon, Colonel William Christian, Dr. William A. Smith and Rev. John A. Collins, or any of them, will confer a favor by communicating with the editor of these papers.

CHARLES H. AMBLER, Editor.





## WILLIAM PRESTON.

The Preston family holds an enviable position in the genealogies of famous Virginians. Its origin has been traced back to the time of Edward I of England, who, upon the death of his Scottish wife, Margaret, chose a Scotch nobleman of that name to arbitrate between Baliol and Bruce for the crown of Scotland. Tradition says that this family settled in Westmoreland, England, and it appears certain that the Prestons of Virginia are descended from this source.<sup>1</sup> Another author states that the father of John Preston and five brothers were active under King William and aided in the defence of Londonderry when that city was besieged by King James II.<sup>2</sup> In that famous struggle three of the brothers were killed, two returned to England, and Archibald, father of John Preston, remained in Londonderry.

John Preston was a ship-carpenter and is often referred to as the "Yard Master of Dublin." As a young man he was earnest, quiet, honest, and of an upright character; his success in the business world is not especially worthy of notice, for, it is said, he was extremely dissatisfied with both the religious and political conditions of his day and entertained ideas which were anything but conducive to the acquirement of a passing success in the business world. He married Miss Elizabeth Patton, the youngest sister of Col. James Patton, the "Shipmaster of Dublin," who had been active in the trouble with the Low Countries, but, after the Treaty of Utrecht, he returned to Dublin, secured a "passenger ship," and then traded with Virginia until his emigration to the Old Dominion. By this marriage Preston had five children, all of whom were born in Ireland. They were Letitia, Margaret, Ann, Mary, and William, and by their marriages the Preston name was allied with such families as the Breckenridges, the Floyds, the Smiths of Hanover, and others equally prominent.

<sup>1</sup>*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 11, 1911.

<sup>2</sup>Kennedy, *The Sheldens of Virginia and Allied Families; Washington and Lee Historical Papers*, V., p. 40.



Col. Patton crossed and recrossed the Atlantic about twenty five times, usually docking on this side at "Hobbes Hole on the Rappahanock." On several occasions he made visits to the back country, penetrating the wilderness at one time as far as Orange county, Virginia, and though he had been a sailor throughout all of his life, the lure of this promising country proved so strong that, when Benjamin Borden returned to England in 1737 to secure settlers for the large grant in western Virginia which Governor Gooch had awarded him with certain stipulations attached, he promised to abandon his old trade and become a frontiersman. They settled, it appears, on the Beverly Grant, not far from Waynesboro, Virginia, later removing, about 1743, to Staunton.

William, the only son of John Preston, was born December 25, 1729, in the little village of Newton Limavaddy, Londonderry County, Ireland. When the Prestons emigrated to America he was about eight or nine years of age. His father died in 1747, and, immediately, he applied to Col. Patton, who was probably the most influential settler in Augusta at that time, for work. This he secured, despite the fact that Mrs. Patton regarded the Prestons with little or no esteem, and for the time being he was employed posting books for the merchants of Staunton. When not engaged in this manner, he busied himself in the forest felling trees and making fences.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, Mrs. Patton had died, and the Prestons had moved into Staunton. Col. Patton lodged with them. He took an especial interest in young William and secured Rev. John Craig,<sup>4</sup> a worthy divine of the militant type, to instruct him in the classics. The young man proved an adept student, showing an extraordinary fondness for English and history. Col. Patton who surveyed a large part of the district lying around the headwaters of the Shenandoah and James rivers, and nearby territory, taught his nephew the intricacies of surveying. And when Patton was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Indians at Logstown, he selected Preston as his private

<sup>3</sup>*Floyd MSS.*, Mrs. Letitia Floyd to her son, "Ben," February 22, 1843.

<sup>4</sup>*Footes Sketches*, second series; an article on Rev. John Craig.





secretary. Undoubtedly the latter found this, his first venture in the field of Indian diplomacy, an invaluable help to himself in future dealings with the red man.<sup>5</sup>

Between the date of the Treaty of Logstown, 1752, and the opening of the French and Indian War, Preston rode at different intervals as a deputy sheriff of Augusta.

Preston lived in an "epochal age,"<sup>6</sup> when a lust for land ran wild among the English-American settlers. The mother country was yet drunk with the wine of discovery and in her western colonists the love for adventure and lure for the unknown burned fiercely. Romantic caravans crossed the Blue Ridge and entered the Promised Land. As this wave of immigration increased, and pushed farther and farther with relentless and steady force into the interior, the Indians became proportionately alarmed and saw in the influx of the white man a deadly encroachment upon their villages and hunting grounds. Their old friendship was transformed into hate, and hate grew into an unquenchable desire to hurl the army of merciless usurpers back across the mountains, and hold them there.

The conflict between English and French interests in that region afforded an excellent opportunity for the red man to take the war path, and the French, who had been busy since 1748-'49 building forts upon the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and were at that time engaged in persuading the aborigines to destroy the Virginia outposts, worked indefatigably to bring about an opening of hostilities on the border. Their efforts were not in vain.

In Europe the Seven Years War began in 1756, but in America the French and English had begun to fight at an earlier date. By 1752-'53 the French had built, other than the settlements on the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi—it was reported—a chain of forts on the Tennessee river, and were equally as busy in Kentucky. To offset this encroachment of the French and their zealous rivalry for the fur trade of that ter-

<sup>5</sup>Johnston, *First Exploration of Kentucky*, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup>Neale's *Monthly*, I., p. 67.



ritory, the Ohio and Loyal Land Companies were given large grants in the disputed region, but they were unable to fulfil the purpose for which they had been formed. Incited by the French, the red men began to commit depredations on the border, and as these became more numerous, Governor Dinwiddie began to formulate a plan of attack and defense. Raids were made on the settlers' cattle; their crops were destroyed by the Indians; consequently an intensely inimical spirit sprang up in the settlements.

Braddock's defeat on July 10, 1755, filled the settlements with consternation and alarm. It left them without protection, open to the attack of any body of warriors that might choose to make an incursion on the frontier. Like sparrows driving the hawk before them, the Indians rushed the English-American army east to the Potomac and then scattered, spreading fire and disaster along the entire length of the western border.

On July 30, 1755, the savages made an attack at Draper's Meadow.<sup>7</sup> On this date, Col. Patton, old Mrs. Draper, two children of Col. Ingles and another child were killed, and several other persons made prisoners. Col. Patton, accompanied by William Preston, was making a visit to that district to inspect several tracts of land which the former had surveyed

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<sup>7</sup>There seems to be great uncertainty among historians concerning the exact date of the Draper's Meadow Massacre, July 8 being the date usually given. It appears, however, that this is an error, for Preston, in the Preston Register which records all frontier fatalities committed by the Indians between 1754 and 1758, gives the date of Col. Patton's death as July 30, 1755. This seems the more authentic because of Gov. Dinwiddie's letter to Col. Patton, dated August 1, 1755 (Draper Mss. 1QQ85 in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin). If Col. Patton had been killed on July 8 in the first massacre on the border, does it not appear very unreasonable to presume that His Excellency would have remained ignorant of the fact until August 7th or 8th? Further: In the Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. II, p. 151, is a letter from Dinwiddie to Capt. Andrew Lewis, dated August 11, 1755, in which he regrets the recent news of Col. Patton's death. In the same volume, p. 132, is another letter, dated August 1, written by His Excellency and directed to Patton. All this, with Braddock's defeat on July 10, points to July 30 as the exact and correct date of the Draper's Meadow Massacre. The writer is indebted to the kindness of Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., and Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, for much of the information concerning Col. Patton's death.



sometime previously. The latter, at the time of the attack, was unavoidably absent from the scene of action, having been despatched early in the morning by Col. Patton on a mission to Philip Lybrook's place, several miles away. Preston was afterwards appointed one of the executors of Patton's large estate.

Throughout these uneasy days, His Excellency was fermenting a pet scheme which was not only unwise in its setting but also impracticable. Despite all advice tendered him by men who were active in the defense of the settlements, the Governor pushed vigorously his plan of invasion which was to be staged in the dead of winter. In a letter of January 14, 1756, to Dinwiddie, Washington wrote that he had ordered Major Lewis to take charge of the Shawnee expedition which he thinks "will prove abortive" for "the Shawnees have moved up the River."<sup>8</sup> But the opinions of others passed unheeded. From the quiet haunts of Williamsburg the invasion of the Indian country appeared to be free of any great difficulty. Distressing rumors came from across the mountains and when the settlers petitioned the government for ammunition and shot the Governor fretted, flew into fits of rage, declared the reports of the frontiersmen to be frauds, threatened to excommunicate the border counties, all in one breath, and set about with determination to carry out his plans.

However, it was necessary that something be done, for the wealthier class of settlers were fleeing across the mountains into east Virginia. Rev. John Craig wrote as follows: "What made the times distressing and unhappy to all the frontiers, was the French and Indian War. . . . Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon, were for flying to a safer place of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at

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<sup>8</sup>*Toner Collection*, Department of Manuscripts, Congressional Library.





home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, *et cetera*; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity.”<sup>9</sup>

The frontier was garrisoned. Two companies of rangers were organized under the commands of Captains Smith and Preston, the latter having under his authority those men who were to serve as scouts in the woods. In a letter of September 15, 1755, His Excellency wrote Preston his approval of the plans. He said, “I think by Diligence You may soon destroy the flying Parties of Indians.”<sup>10</sup>

The invasion of the Shawnee territory began in February of 1756. The Shawnee towns of the Scioto were the objective points of the campaign. The militia assembled at Fort Frederick on the west bank of the New (Kanawha) River.<sup>11</sup> By the 13th, when a general review of the forces was made by Major Lewis, the number of militia present was 365, but only 340 went on the expedition, for Lieut. Tyler with 24 men was left to garrison Fort Frederick and a man or two was lost while scouting in the woods. Peter Hogg, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, Robert Breckenridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, Dunlap, Paris, and Preston ranked as captains in the little army; Major Lewis was in command.

On February 18, Major Lewis began the march; on the next day the companies of Paris and Preston brought up the rear. By the 26th, they had reached the head of the Clinch. “That day,” notes Capt. Preston, “I bought a little horse of Lieutenant Smith for £4 to carry me *out* of the Shawnee Towns;” that night it rained. By the 28th, they had reached the headwaters of Sandy Creek “where they met with great trouble and fatigue . . . due to heavy rain and driving of pack horses down the creek, which was crossed and recrossed twenty times that evening.” In early March, the invaders experienced thunderstorms, hail, and a great deal of rain which swelled

<sup>9</sup>*Footo's Sketches*, second series, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup>*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, p. 199.

<sup>11</sup>The writer follows closely Lyman C. Draper's account of this expedition. His article appeared in the *Virginia Historical Register*, Vol. V., pp. 61-76. Captain Preston's Journal of this “Sandy Creek Voyage” is now in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. Mr. Draper's discussion is but a presentation of Captain Preston's Journal.



the rivers, making them almost impassable. By the 3rd of March, rations had been reduced to one half pound of flour per man. Many of the hungry horses strayed away; the hunters were entirely unsuccessful. On March 5th, Captain Preston notes, "This day my £4 horse expired, and I was left on foot with a hungry belly, which increased my woe; and this was indeed the case with almost every man in the company." By the 6th, a number of the men had threatened to desert, "murmuring because of the lack of provisions." On the 7th Sunday, it was agreed to divide the force, a part, including Preston's company, to march a distance of 15 miles down the Creek, while the other division, under Major Lewis, was to remain where it was until a sufficient number of canoes would be constructed by which the men could descend the river. So difficult was the marching for the first division that it required several days for the starving, grumbling men to traverse the 15 miles. "By this time," wrote Captain Preston, "hunger appeared in all our faces, and most of us had become weak and feeble, and had we not got that relief [several of the hunters had succeeded in securing two elk], I doubt not but that several of the men would have died of hunger; their cries and complaints were pitiful and shocking, and the more so as the officers could not afford them any help. for they were in equal want with the men."

The whole force was completely discouraged, and, on the morning of the 10th, a number were prepared to return home, but were persuaded by Captain Preston's address to await Major Lewis' arrival. They blamed the commissaries for their terrible position, for they had been given but 15 days provisions upon their departure from Fort Frederick. On the 12th, most discouraging reports came from the upper camp, saying that the canoes and part of the baggage had been destroyed in the rapids of the river. On the 13th, Major Lewis, who had arrived a short time previously, "stepped off a few yards and desired all who were willing to serve their country and share his fate, to go with him. All officers and 30 or 40 men joined him." Of Preston's company, two lieutenants





and four privates remained. All others departed. Old Outocite, the Cherokee chieftain who had accompanied the expedition with a hundred or more warriors, was deeply grieved when he saw the returning men disappear in the forest.

With a few other remarks Captain Preston's journal ends. It is not known how long the party remained in the woods. Sparks, in his "Life of Washington," concludes that they wandered around for about six weeks before they returned, but it is not certain. The sufferings, hardships, pangs of hunger and distress, the task of overcoming nature herself on the return journey must have been almost unbearable. Horses were killed for food; buffalo tugs were eaten and the flaps of their shot bags served as sustenance for their well-nigh starved bodies.

Thus the Sandy Creek Expedition came to an ignoble end. The Governor blamed the settlers who had fled across the mountains for its "abortive" results, while they, and especially those who were well acquainted with the conditions under which the campaign was conducted, credited Dinwiddie with the ill-starred "Voyage" because of his miserable plan of invasion.

Outocite, the Cherokee Chief, remained with Major Lewis to the end of the expedition.

The next year, 1757, Captain Preston and Thomas Lewis were appointed commissioners to treat with the Shawnees at the mouth of Big Sandy river. Peace was concluded with Oconastoto and Cornstalk, who was at that time a young chieftain of the Shawnee tribe. On the journey Captain Preston endured singular hardships. One of his moccasins had been tied too closely and inflammation resulted. A companion, Dr. Thomas Lloyd, probably saved his life. Dr. Lloyd was a man of culture, possessing an extensive knowledge of medicine; he was a "redemptioner" and had been purchased by Captain Preston sometime previously. On the return, provisions ran so low that it became necessary for them to consume the tugs of their shot pouches. This occurred on a branch of Big Sandy, and the name, "Tug Fork," was given it by Captain Preston in commemoration of that event.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>*Floyd MSS.*, Mrs. Letitia Floyd to her son, "Ben," dated February 22, 1843.



In this same year, Preston laid a claim before the House of Burgesses for pay, both for himself and for the party of rangers which he commanded prior to the Sandy Creek Expedition. The House agreed that his claims were just and reported favorably in regard to them. A sum amounting to £576, or more, was allotted him and his old company.<sup>13</sup>

In the latter part of 1757, another company of rangers was organized by order of the Council of Virginia. Preston was again made captain; he served throughout the remaining part of that year under the command of Major Lewis, but in 1758 he was responsible only to the executive at Williamsburg. He continued in active service until the end of the war.<sup>14</sup>

In 1761, Preston was made one of the first trustees of the town of Staunton.

From 1761 to 1763 the settlements were at peace with the Indians, but in the latter year the Shawnees with the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagos, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, combined in an attack on the frontier. The aborigines were greatly dissatisfied with the passing of Canada from French influence to that of the English.

Greenbrier was the first district in Virginia that suffered. Cornstalk, a young Shawnee chief who was later murdered at Fort Randolph in 1777, led a band of his warriors into that region and, under the guise of friendship, introduced them into the settlers' homes where they were hospitably received. In this manner, the Greenbrier settlements were practically extinguished.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout this trouble, Preston experienced active service on the border. He had qualified as colonel of the Augusta militia on August 16, 1763.<sup>16</sup>

At this time the Prestons were residing at Greenfield, near Fincastle, Virginia, having removed to that place in 1762. Col. Preston had been married to Susanna Smith on July 17, 1761. She was attractive, not only because of her extraordinary

<sup>13</sup>*Journal of House of Burgesses, 1756-1758*, p. 459.

<sup>14</sup>*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1899, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup>Stuart, *Memoirs of Indian Wars and Other Occurrences*.

<sup>16</sup>Peyton, *History of Augusta County*, p. 142.



beauty but also for her manners and excellent education, which she had received from the Rev. Patrick Henry. On May 31, 1762, Elizabeth Patton, their first child, was born.

After Bouquet's campaign, which closed the trouble on the border, the settlements enjoyed peace and quiet for about ten years. Great Britain's proclamation of 1763 which purposed to quiet the Indians and restrict western expansion on the part of her colonists succeeded in its first intention. During this period of peace Col. Preston was engaged in surveying and other occupations closely connected with public office. In 1766, he was elected to the House of Burgesses with John Wilson, and in the session of that year served as a member of the Committee on Public Claims. In 1767 and 1768, both were re-elected to the House, but pressure of business affairs in the mountains prevented Preston's attendance in those years. For the same reason in 1769-'70-'71, he, though elected a representative to the same body by Botetourt county, Virginia, was unable to be present in Williamsburg.

February 13, 1770, witnessed the first county court of Botetourt county. It met at the house of Robert Breckenridge, near the present location of Fincastle. Preston was one of the judges who composed the court, and on that day he qualified as county surveyor, escheator, and colonel of the county militia.<sup>17</sup>

From 1770 to 1773, Col. Preston was actively engaged in the surveyor's office. A great deal of trouble came to him while fulfilling these duties, due to misunderstandings with Dunmore, which arose from the fact that His Excellency was too deeply interested in the disposal of certain of the tracts surveyed.<sup>18</sup> However, he handled the situation in which he found himself with a diplomatic and skillful hand. Preston is described by

<sup>17</sup>Summers, *History of South West Virginia*, p. 108.

<sup>18</sup>It is undoubtedly true that Dunmore was looking to the Cherokee country as a region greatly to be desired. This is the view held by Professor Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina who possesses sufficient data to enable him to speak with great certainty and conviction regarding His Excellency's interest in this direction.





Mrs. Letitia Floyd as being a man, at this time. "of consummate judgement and unremitting industry."<sup>19</sup>

Western expansion continued regardless of the desires of our mother country and as the new territory became inhabited new demands were made upon the royal government in east Virginia. The mountaineers were lovers of freedom and when a sufficient number of them had gathered together in a hitherto unsettled region they would immediately petition the Governor and his advisors to incorporate the district in which they were living as a county of the state and ask that they be granted local self-government. Botetourt county had been formed under such conditions in 1769-1770, and Fincastle county followed in 1772.

On January 5, 1773, the first county court of Fincastle assembled at the Lead Mines. This met by order of the Governor, dated December 1, 1772, directed to Col. Preston, William Christian, and others.<sup>20</sup> On this day Preston became county surveyor and sheriff of Fincastle county. In this same year, he, with Nathaniel Gist, was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Cherokees and Chickamaugas; in this matter they were very successful.<sup>21</sup>

As stated previously, England's proclamation of 1763 had not prevented western expansion; it had however impressed the Indians favorably at the time. During the period that immediately followed Kentucky was explored. Daniel Boone and others who had traversed it thoroughly gave glowing accounts of that wonderful land of boundless forests, high mountains, and beautiful rivers.

The result was but natural. Little caravans began entering the "dark and bloody land." Hunters, adventurers, and small farmers increased the stream of immigration until it appeared that a new state was being born within territory claimed by the Cherokee nation. Charlottiana had proved impracticable, but eastern capital had turned speculators eagerly toward the open gaps that led into fanciful Vandalia, and John Hender-

<sup>19</sup>*Floyd MSS.*, Letitia Floyd to her son, "Ben," February 22, 1843.

<sup>20</sup>Summers, *History of South West Virginia*, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup>T. L. Preston, *Sketches and Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*.



son's agents were working effectively down the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers. Surveyors were employed and despatched into the new territory.

Preston's home at Smithfield was one of the gathering places for the surveyors who were sent into Kentucky. In early spring of 1774 many were ordered into that country. But all operations in that quarter were brought to a sudden end by the opening of hostilities with the Indians later in the year.

Dunmore's war is remarkable for many things. It stands out prominently between the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars, "but apparently without connection with either."<sup>22</sup> It was the last conflict in which Americans fought under the flag of England. It is important because of the significant relation between its combatants and for the results which grew out of the conflict.

Many historians in listing the causes of this war have insisted that it was an outgrowth of unwarranted attacks made by the whites under Daniel Greathouse at Big Yellow Creek and under Captain Cresap at the mouth of Captina Creek. But that such should be the case seems improbable, for Cresap had on April 21, 1774, received word from Dr. John Connolly, stationed at Fort Dunmore, that the Indians were preparing to take the war-path. The attack alluded to above did not occur until April 27, 1774; the one in which Greathouse commanded came on April 30 of that year.

The causes lay deeper and were of long standing duration. The colonists had not fulfilled the terms of England's proclamation issued in 1763. And the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 was never recognized as valid by the Indians living on the southwest border of Virginia. In every move of the settlers the red men saw an encroachment on his hunting grounds. Consequently they interfered wherever interference might retard the westward wave of immigration. Finally hostilities broke out in 1774. Small parties of the enemy made incursions on the remote settlements, destroying crops, driving off cattle, and burning homes.

<sup>22</sup>Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, p. 15.





In sympathy with expressions of the House of Burgesses, Governor Dunmore determined to invade the enemy's territory. Accordingly he crossed the mountains and in person supervised the assembling of forces for the northern army. By the end of September, 1774, His Lordship had mustered about "thirteen hundred men; one hundred beeves, two hundred pack-horses; and two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of flour."<sup>23</sup>

General Andrew Lewis was selected by His Excellency to assemble forces for the southern army. In accord with the appointment, Gen. Lewis issued proclamations to the county lieutenants ordering them to assemble at his home on August 12, 1774.

Col. Preston, at Gen. Lewis' command, ordered Capt. William Russell to inform the white men in Kentucky of the opening of hostilities. Capt. Russell despatched Michael Stoner and Daniel Boone into that region to warn and save as many of the surveyors from destruction as possible.<sup>24</sup> The whole country was thoroughly alarmed. Inhabitants were gathering in forts, deserting homes and crops which were left to the enemy. Col. Preston constructed a fort at Smithfield which sheltered 83 persons; this was built at his own expense, and his expenditure on it was never recognized by the Council at Williamsburg.

On July 3, Preston gave orders for a force to rendezvous at Town House and from thence to march to the heads of Sandy and Clinch rivers for the protection of the inhabitants of those quarters,<sup>25</sup> and to oppose a band of Shawnees and Cherokees who, united, were marching towards the settlements. Another party was to hasten down the Holston for a defense in that section. On July 20, Col. Preston issued a circular letter calling for volunteers. At this time, Mrs. Preston was seriously ill; her death was expected daily, and it was for that reason that her husband was unable to take part in the battle at Point Pleasant, later in the year. On July 24, 1774, Dunmore wrote Col. Chas. Lewis that he was "determined to proceed immediately

<sup>23</sup>Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*. p. 23.

<sup>24</sup>Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's Wars*, p. 49.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.



to Ft. Dunmore on the mouth of Wheeling with 250 or 350 good men" and that he "will be impatient to see" him on the Ohio; also that "our Instructions should be kept as secret as possible as great deal depends on Secrecy and Despatch."<sup>26</sup> General Lewis, with Colonels Fleming, Christian, and Preston, met in council on August 12 to consult what would be most necessary to forward the expedition. They decided it to be expedient that assistance be requested from neighboring counties and that the militia ought to be draughted.<sup>27</sup>

"The Levels" in Greenbrier was the place of rendezvous for the army of south-west Virginia. On September 24, 1774, the combined forces marched from that place and, on October 10, fought the battle of Point Pleasant. Probably the best account of this engagement and one of the most valuable that documentary evidence has given to posterity is that embodied by Col. William Christian in a letter addressed to Col. Preston. With the omission of personal references the letter is as follows:

"Camp at Point Pleasant, at Mouth of ye  
Kanawha, Oct. 15, 1774.

"Dear Sir—

"I have a copy [an account of the battle] ready as drawn up by Col. Lewis himself, from which you can have an idea of it. I will also inclose you a state of the accounts I could gather. I have been through all the camps and believe that many more men will die. There are many shot in two places, one in particular I observed with two bullits, some in three. They are really in a deplorable situation, bad doctors, few medicines, nothing to eat or dress with proper for them makes it worse. I intended being here on Tuesday, but on Monday evening about 12 or 15 miles off I heard they were fighting and reached it about midnight. We are building a breastwork. The Fincastle men have just finished their proportion and I hope all will be done tomorrow. We should have crossed the Ohio for the Towns, ere now, but we must secure our wounded. His Lordship was to march with 1200 men last Thursday morning for

<sup>26</sup>*Preston Papers*, State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, a copy of the original, dated August 12, 1774.



the Towns, and wrote to Col. Lewis to meet him about 20 miles on this side Chillicothe at a large ridge. Chillicothe lies about 20 miles farther than the Towns we intended for and is of course 90 from here, our pilot says 100. His orders were to meet next Tuesday at noon, that we can't do, as we don't propose crossing Ohio before Monday, perhaps some may Sunday in the night James Fowler, James McAnore and Sam Huff started from here on Wednesday morning with an account of the battle, begging him to fall down in his vessels. On Thursday morning by day a little Billy Mann and some others who had been sent up by land came down in a canoe, with the Govr's orders. I mentioned we were then embarrassed not knowing what his Lordship would do on hearing how we are situated. I have hopes we will hear from him Monday night. Col. Lewis thinks Sunday night. . . . His Lordship has about 170 beeves, 250,000 of flour for 1300 men, about 100 of which would remain at Camp . . . Perhaps humanity will induce him to return and come to us if he is found but a little way off as Col. Lewis begged he would do so by Fowler. . . . And if we don't hear more from him before, we shall march on Tuesday morning with about 12 days provisions. . . . Some here think the Govr's army will be for pushing on before us, some that they will join us here and send in haste to tell us so. Some that they will stand fast until we are as far forward as them. We shall cross with some more than 1,000 men . . . Mann says that he has persuaded the Govr. to come here, but Major Connolly prevented it.

"From what I can gather here I cannot describe the bravery of the enemy in the battle. It exceeded every man's expectations. They had men planted on each river to kill our men as they would swim over, making no doubt I think of gaining a complete victory. Those over the Ohio in the time of battle called to the men to 'drive the white dogs in.' Their Chiefs ran continually along the line exhorting the men to 'lye close' and 'shoot well,' 'fight and be strong.' At first our men retreated a good ways and until new forces were sent out on which the enemy beat back slowly and killed and wounded our





men at every advance Our people at last formed a line, so did the enemy, they made many attempts to break our lines, at length our men made a stand, on which the enemy challenged them to come up and began to shoot . . . Our men could have forced them away precipitately but not without great loss, and so concluded to maintain their ground all along the line. Which they did until Sundown, when the enemy were supposed to be all gone. Our people then moved backward, scalping the enemy and bringing in the dead and wounded.

“The enemy came over on rafts about 6 miles up Ohio & set at the same place. They encamped two miles of this place the night before the battle and killed some of our beeves, their loss I think is great. Late in the evening they called to our men that tomorrow they wd have 2,000 men for them, to fight on for they had 1100 men as well as them.”<sup>28</sup>

Accounts of the battle vary. In the letter from John Floyd to Col. Preston, dated October 16, 1774, a statement is made to the effect that the battle appeared to be drawn, and that at no time was there more than 300 or 400 of our men actively and earnestly engaged.<sup>29</sup>

However that may be, the actions of Dunmore are certainly open to much criticism. Connolly, the man referred to in Col. Christian's letter, was Dunmore's agent at Fort Dunmore, and has been equally accused of insincerity in this matter. The first action of His Excellency upon hearing of the victory, was to hasten with his army to the Shawnee Towns and conclude a treaty of peace with the Indians before the army of the frontier could form a junction with him.

The treaty effected with the Indians by the Governor and ratified at Pittsburg in 1775 asserted that the Indians would “never again wage war against the frontier of Virginia.” All white prisoners were to be returned without reserve; the red-men were to pay the settlers for all property destroyed on their incursions into the lately occupied regions. The district south of the Ohio was to be given without delay to the white men and,

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<sup>28</sup>Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's Wars*, pp. 262-266.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*



in return, the Governor was to assure the Indians that the colonists would not cross the Ohio. Hostages were delivered to the invaders as a guarantee "for the faithful compliance with the terms of the treaty."<sup>30</sup>

The importance of the victory at Point Pleasant is difficult to estimate properly. Roosevelt remarks that "it kept the north-western tribes quiet for the first three years of the Revolutionary struggle; and above all it rendered possible the settlement of Kentucky, and therefore the winning of the west." Had it not been for Lord Dunmore's war, it is more than likely that the free and independent colonies would have found their western boundary fixed at the Alleghany mountains.<sup>31</sup> Most certainly it opened the regions west of the mountain to the colonists; and it was from that section as a basis that Clark's remarkable expedition into the Illinois region had its beginning.

Several days after the date of the treaty concluded with Logan and the Shawnee nation by Dunmore, both divisions of the army broke up and in small squads returned to the settlements. This disbandment of the armed forces occasioned Col. Preston much alarm, because it left the vantage points won in the late campaign defenseless and open to the attacks of any Indian parties that might yet be lurking in the woods. His ability and patience were taxed to the utmost.

In the meanwhile the spirit of the Revolution was active all over the country. The frontiersmen were foremost in the ranks of the revolutionists. "Pursuant to the resolutions of our Continental Congress, the backwoodsmen met January 20, 1775, at the Lead Mines, and took action in the Premises."<sup>32</sup> A committee was nominated by those assembled for the purpose of drawing up a set of resolutions. Col. Preston was a member of this committee, and its products the Fincastle Resolutions, show the spirit of the frontier in the revolutionary days, as well as the handiwork of Col. Preston.

On July 5, 1776, Patrick Henry became Governor of Virginia.

<sup>30</sup>Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, p. 56.

<sup>31</sup>Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I., p. 240.

<sup>32</sup>Summers, *History of South West Virginia*, p. 201.





One of the most difficult problems that faced his administration was that relating to the Indians, who were being encouraged by the British to attack the settlements along the entire American border. Oconastoto, Dragging Canoe, and The Raven were leading the Cherokees who were especially dangerous because of their intimate knowledge of the borderman's method of warfare. They attacked Fort Lee and the Wautauga outposts contemporaneously with the British assault on Charleston, South Carolina. Col. Preston had garrisoned the Lead Mines with a force of 25 men, pursuant to an order of the Virginia Council to that effect.<sup>33</sup> After the Indians were driven back, the Governor and Council directed that a treaty be concluded with them, and accordingly appointed a committee, composed of Major Evan Shelby, and Colonels Christian and Preston, to treat with the Cherokee nation. A treaty was drafted and submitted to the Council on May 28, 1777. A delegation from North Carolina was appointed to a place on this committee.

Great importance was attached to this treaty, for it involved not only the safety of the border settlements and encouragement for western expansion by the colonists, but tested also the legality of the claim of John Henderson and his company of land speculators to a tract of land which lay within the limits of Transylvania. At an earlier date, April 12, 1775, Preston had despatched a messenger to the Cherokees remonstrating against the large sale of land on the Ohio to Henderson and company, saying that it had been a possession of His Majesty the King of England, for thirty years or more.<sup>34</sup>

In the treaty of 1777, tracts of land which had been included in Henderson's grant were ceded by the Cherokee nation to Virginia. The new boundary line as settled upon by the commissioners in conference with the Indians began "at the lower corner of Donelson's line on the north side of the River Holston, and runs down that river according to the meanders thereof and bending thereon, including the Great Island, to the mouth of Claud's creek, being the second creek below the warrior's

<sup>33</sup>Summers, *History of South West Virginia*, p. 240.

<sup>34</sup>Howard's Reports, *Porterfield vs. Clark*, II., p. 89.



ford at the mouth of Carter's valley; thence running a straight line to a high point on Cumberland mountain, between three and five miles below or westward of the great gap which leads to the settlement of the Kentucky. This last mentioned line is to be considered as the boundary between Virginia and the Cherokees." The Transylvania claim had extended to the east of the Cumberland mountain, including both the Powell and Clinch rivers, the boundary line extending northeast by southwest midway between those two rivers and parallel to them.<sup>35</sup> This treaty destroyed the validity of Henderson's claim.

The Indians guaranteed protection to those settlers who lived within the limits defined in the treaty, and agreed that that territory should be free of redmen. With a number of other stipulations attached the terms of amnesty come to an end.

But the benefits derived from this conference were not of long duration, for in this same year, at Fort Randolph, Cornstalk, one of the most famous of the Shawnee Chiefs, his son and two others of his tribe, were murdered by the garrison. These four were being detained as hostages in the fort. One day, Gilmore and a comrade crossed the river opposite Fort Randolph and were attacked by a party of Indians that were concealed in the high weeds and grass. Gilmore was killed; the other escaped. The men within the stockade became enraged and rushed upon the cabin in which the hostages were being detained. Without offering any resistance whatever, Cornstalk and his three comrades were killed. This rash action threw consternation into the settlements for the bordermen realized that the Shawnees would not permit so great an insult to pass unavenged. Then too, they were aware that that nation would be justified in making an attack on the frontier. The country was fortified immediately and placed in a state of defense.<sup>36</sup> Col. Preston wrote the Governor as follows:

"The late, barbarous, inhuman, and impolitic Murder com-

<sup>35</sup>Howard, *Preliminaries to the Revolution*, Map of the Proposed Western Colonies, pp. 230-231.

<sup>36</sup>Preston Papers, letter from Colonel William Fleming to Colonel Preston, June 5, 1777.





mitted at the Point on the Cornstalk and his Party, by a Number of rash, inconsiderate villians, I am fully convinced will be followed by the most direful Consequences to this long extended Frontier. As it cannot be supposed the Shawnesse, a warlike bloodthirsty, and revengeful Nation of Savages, will suffer the Injury done them in the murder of their Leaders and Beloved Men to pass unrevenged. On the Contrary, it is more reasonable to believe that they will, with the Assistance and Advice of our Enemies at Detroit, and about the Lakes, form a general Confederacy with all the Indians beyond the Ohio, and when the Season admits make one desperate attack upon the Frontier Inhabitants from Pittsburg to the lower Settlements of Clinch.”<sup>37</sup>

Col. Preston stated further that there were over a hundred backwoodsmen who have not taken “the Oath of Allegiance to the State,” and that provisions should be secured as early as possible—“While they may be had, which will not be the case two months hence.”

Gov. Henry replied that he “Blushed for the occasion of the war with the Shawnees . . . Shall this precedent establish the right of involving Virginia in War, whenever anyone in the Back Country shall please? . . . Is not this the work of Torys? No Man but an Enemy to American Independence will do it, and thus oblige our people to be hunting after Indians in the woods, instead of facing Gen. Howe in the field. . . Search into the matter & depend on it the Murderers are Torys.”<sup>38</sup>

Hoping that in some way or other the expected incursions of the redmen might be averted, Governor Henry commanded the frontiersmen to act on the defensive only in this matter. Fort Randolph sustained an attack of several hundred Shawnee braves.<sup>39</sup> An address to the “Chiefs & Warriors of the Shawnee Nation”<sup>40</sup> made by Colonels Preston and William Fleming on April 3, 1778, bore no desirable results. In the lat-

<sup>37</sup>*Preston Papers*. Col. Preston to the Governor, January 16, 1778.

<sup>38</sup>Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III., p. 144-148.

<sup>39</sup>Thwaites and Kellogg, *Defense of the Upper Ohio*, pp. 255-261.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 265-268.





ter part of that year, affairs turned into more favorable channels. Clark's famous expedition into the Illinois materialized. The war had been carried into the enemy's territory.

Previous to Clark's daring campaign plans had been formulated for an expedition under Capt. McIntosh's command with Detroit as an objective point. But the inclemency of the weather, the need of able fighting men upon the border, and the lack of provisions compelled the propounders of this scheme to turn to other methods of procedure. Genl. McIntosh was commanded accordingly not to attempt the capture of Detroit but to enter the Shawnee country, erecting forts and securing the territory as he advanced.<sup>41</sup> On Oct. 30, 1778, he wrote Col. Preston from Fort McIntosh on Beaver Creek as follows:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that my plan of erecting posts in proper places, and securing as I go into Indian Country has its proper effect, and alarms the Savages much. Several Tribes have already applied to me for peace but I have given them no encouragement yet."<sup>42</sup> By this same letter General McIntosh who had the Delaware Towns as the objective of his campaign requested Col. Preston to send him "two hundred active young men properly Officered, armed and accoutred." Col. Preston immediately wrote Governor Henry, advising His Excellency that General McIntosh's requisition was both impractical and out of reason. But before this letter<sup>43</sup> reached Williamsburg the Governor had despatched a message to the Lieutenant of Montgomery county saying, "This matter [the requisition] has been maturely considered in full Council; and the Result is, that I am advised to countermand . . . the Impracticability of marching the Troops at this enelement Season, thro' a Country destitute of Supplies. The want of Tents, Kettles, provisions, & I may add of every necessary for such an undertaking render a Compliance with the General's Request absolutely impossible."<sup>44</sup> On December

<sup>41</sup>*Preston Papers*, letters written by McIntosh, dated October 30 and December 7, 1778, respectively.

<sup>42</sup>*Prcston Papers*.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, letter dated November 25, 1778.

<sup>44</sup>*Preston Papers*, letter dated November 20, 1778.



7, 1778, from Fort Laurens on Muskingum river General McIntosh wrote Colonel Preston relative to the demand for men as follows: "I wrote you the 30th,—October for some men to relieve those now here, but as I find nothing more can be done this Winter, I must request you to put a Stop to their March at this time only to have them ready when I Shall require them in the Spring, which I expect to do, and inform you of it in time."<sup>45</sup>

This slow though successful movement aided materially in bringing the Indians to terms of peace. The war was concluded with greater rapidity than many had suspected possible. By 1780, the backwoodsmen were again free to turn their faces toward the south and east where their ill-clad, ill-fed brothers were engaging the English with varied success.

Undoubtedly, Preston played an important part in this affair, and his services at this time will probably never be estimated. He handled the situation diplomatically and with great skill. Many difficulties had confronted him, one especially being very dangerous; there were a large number of backwoodsmen who were disaffected at this period in our history and if these had co-operated with the Indians, as Preston for a while suspected they would, it would have been practically impossible to have concluded a treaty for peace with the redmen.

Following in the footsteps of the Shawnee affair came a Tory insurrection. The destruction of the Lead Mines was planned by this undesirable element on the frontier. Conditions in 1779 and 1780 became so pressing that Col. Preston was taxed to his utmost to restrain the British sympathizers from executing their treacherous schemes. The settlements were surcharged with uneasiness which gave birth to many uncertain rumors and reports, one, especially dangerous asserted that the French had bought or were going to buy the frontier.<sup>46</sup> The French were heartily disliked by the bordermen. "Hence," they said, "we prefer to be Britishers."

<sup>45</sup>*Preston Papers.*

<sup>46</sup>*Preston Papers*, James McGavock to Col. Preston, April 15, 1779.





To add to the difficulties that confronted Preston at this time was a threatened invasion by the Cherokee nation. This was doubly assured by the presence of British agents among that people, the presence of Tories among the settlements, the deep, unquenchable desire within the Indian impelling him to regain possession of his old hunting ground, and, lastly, by the mild winter and spring that had just preceded.

In fact, depredations had already been committed on Indian Creek, in Rye Cove, and down the Clinch.<sup>47</sup> In an attempt to prevent a conjunction by the Indians and Tories, Col. Preston ordered Genl. McIntosh to invade the Indian country and garrison it as he proceeded. This campaign was propagated during the latter part of 1778.

On April 7, 1779, Walter Crockett wrote Col. Preston of the designs of the insurgents. "Their plan is ripe for Execution—they are immediately to Proceed in Parties to Disarm the friends of the country. Some they are to kill and Destroy, & Proceed to Destroy the Lead Mines. They [the two informants] informed of the names of near Twenty, Some of which are to be Commanders in Executing this diabolical Plot. One on Oath Says that a certain Duncan Oquillon said he would Scalp Preston [Col. Preston], and McGavock before he joined the indians with them. They promise their followers 2/6 Sterling per day & 450 acres of land clear of Quit rents for Twenty one Years."<sup>48</sup>

A further idea of the conditions of affairs can be gathered from a letter to Col. Preston from James McGavock, dated April 15, 1779. An extract follows:

"I cannot conceive that all that has been done to them will put a stop to their Horrid and Bloody Designs. For had not their Plot Been Discovered it plainly appears before this time they would have committed murder, and now Sir, Self Defense makes it Necessary to call men from other counties to our Assistance. In my Opinion there never was such a Necessity. We seem to be but a handful in the Middle, and Surrounded by a multitude. Just consider your own Quarter, and

<sup>47</sup>*Preston Papers.*

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, James McGavock to Col. Preston, April 25, 1779.



we are much the Same.”<sup>49</sup> McGavock further expressed his sympathy for Col. Preston whose family, at this time, was experiencing much sickness and, too, because the “Business now on hand loudly calls for you.”

On April 10, 1780, Col. Preston was informed that the insurgents “have 20 horse loads Ammunition,” and that “1500 Cherokees are to embody on the 25th.”<sup>50</sup> On April 18, Col. Preston received a copy of the deposition of Michael Kenninger who was told by “Adam Waggoner and Mathias Crumb that 4000 men had subscribed to papers whereby they were to raise against the country.” On the following day Col. Campbell informed Preston by letter of conditions in Washington county and concluded by saying, “You are, it seems, yourself a principal Object of those Wretched hellish Contrivances.”<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile a number of the ringleaders in this trouble had been captured, among whom were Gullion, Werwick, and Britain. They were to be escorted as prisoners to Staunton, but so cock sure were they of their plans that Britain reported, jestingly, that he would never see Staunton as a prisoner for “there is a great combination of them [meaning Tories] joined together.”<sup>52</sup>

It seemed that success would certainly crown the efforts of the enemy. But Preston determined to act quickly, believing that by rapidity of movement he might succeed in disabling the Tories before they could form a junction with the Indians. Accordingly he sought aid from Washington county. Col. Campbell responded immediately with a force of about 150 men and by a process of guerilla-like warfare was able to scatter them. On July 19, 1779, Col. Preston wrote Col. Campbell and expressed himself as follows:

“Yesterday at noon I received a letter from Mr. McGavock informing that a number of Tories had embodied up the River which was the first certain Account I had got from that Quarter. On receiving his Letter I ordered four or five Companies

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<sup>49</sup>*Preston Papers.*

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, James McGavock to Col. Preston, April 25, 1779.



to be draughted & put under proper Officers to reinforce you, lest the number of Insurgents might be too great. . . .

“I was heartily and sincerely rejoiced when I heard you had come so readily and timeously to our Aid. Your coming from another County with a Company must convince those stupid Wretches that they have more Counties than one to contend with. . . . I beg leave to return You, Sir, and Your Company my most sincere Thanks for Your Conduct on this Occasion. . . .”<sup>53</sup>

Throughout the remainder of 1779, Indian “signs” became more numerous; small scalping parties made many incursions along the Virginia and Carolina roads that led into the dark and bloody land. And in early 1780, matters looked with a more serious aspect than ever before. On June 7, 1780, Col. Preston received report from Col. Arthur Campbell that Lieut. Chaplain, a lately escaped prisoner from Detroit, gave information that Butler of the Iroquois nation with upwards of 1600 men and a number of cannon was proceeding towards the Ohio.<sup>54</sup> This rendered an immediate issue with the Tories a necessity. The Indians were undoubtedly expecting to make another great attack on the settlements, hoping to gain possession of their old territory after which they would conclude a treaty with the Americans on condition that the parties concerned should occupy the land held by each at the conclusion of hostilities. On June 24, alarming news came to Preston to the effect that a band of Tories had assembled at Flower Gape and up New River.<sup>55</sup> The Cherokees were ready to act also, for the British had been very busy among that people. Cornwallis promised aid, hoping thereby to replenish his ranks for the Carolina campaign.

Meanwhile Charleston had fallen and Cornwallis had dispatched Ferguson, a man of attractive personality and forceful military bearing, into the interior of the Carolinas to train the native British patriots for the campaign in that section. To his standard flocked “the idle, illiterate, and the vin-

<sup>53</sup>*Preston Papers*, July 15, 1779.

<sup>54</sup>*Preston Papers*, Col. Arthur Campbell to Col. Preston, June 7, 1780.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, June 24, 1780.





dictive" elements found in the back country, men who fought because they could not well evade fighting, a class of men whom Major Hanger, at the time under Ferguson's command, described as follows: "This distinguished race of men are more savage than the Indians, and possess *every* one of their vices, but not *one* of their virtues. . . . I speak only of that *heathen* race known by the name of *Crackers*."<sup>56</sup> It was from such a class of men that recruits for the British ranks were gathered.

As Ferguson approached the mountain region with his motley army, the frontiersmen rushed to arms with remarkable celerity and, on October 7, defeated Ferguson decisively in the obstinately contested battle of King's Mountain. Preston assisted in planning the campaign which resulted in the crushing defeat of the British at that place, but, due to the presence of sickness in his family, was unable to engage actively in the contest. A most excellent account of the battle is given by William Davidson in a letter to Col. Preston.

"Sir,

"Camp Rocky River, 10 October 1780.

"I have the Pleasure of handing you very agreeable Intelligence from the West. Ferguson the great Partizan has miscarried—this we are assured by Mr Tate Brigade Major, in General Sumpter's late Brigade. The Particulars from that Gentleman's mouth stand thus;—That Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Williams, Brandon Lacy &c, formed a Conjunct Body, near Gilbert Town consisting of 3000. From this Body were selected 1600 good Horse, who went immediately in search of Colonel Ferguson, who was making his way to Charlotte. Our People overtook him well posted on King's Mountain and on the evening of the 7th Instant at 4 O'clock. began the attack which lasted Forty seven minutes<sup>57</sup>—[Then follows a list of fatalities, prisoners, et cetera.]

<sup>56</sup>Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, p. 70.

<sup>57</sup>Preston Papers.

The British force numbered about 1,400 men; American 1,600. Col. Ferguson and 150 of his men fell, 150 more were wounded, and 810 made prisoners. The American loss amounted to about 20 men, the number of wounded had not been ascertained.



“Fifteen hundred Stand of Arms fell into our hands . . . The Brigade Major who gives us this, was in the Action. The above is true—The blow is great, and I give You my Joy upon the occasion. I am, &c.”

On October 13, General Gates ordered Col. Preston to prepare a place at Fort Chiswell for the reception of the prisoners, but due to the exposed situation of that station and the ill-prepared conditions for the confinement of the captives, Preston persuaded the former to reconsider his command with the result that the British were placed under William Madison and sent into Botetourt county.<sup>58</sup>

The results from the victory at King's Mountain were many and far-reaching. It destroyed all future hope for any Loyalist uprising that may have been contemplated prior to the engagement; royalist enthusiasm in the mountain region was dead. In like proportion the American patriots were elated. Freedom to them seemed nearer and dearer than ever before. A race of men such as one of which Lord Cornwallis nor Major Hanger had ever dreamed had issued from the hills and in forty seven minutes administered an irretrievable defeat upon the British right wing. All immediate plans for the invasion of Virginia were dismissed under the catastrophe to royal arms, and the proud English General was forced to turn his back to the stately Alleghanies, for an unknown “heathen race of men known by the name of Crackers” had dared to oppose Major Hanger's fellow countrymen. Irving asserts that “the battle of King's Mountain, inconsiderable as it was in the numbers engaged, turned the tide of Southern warfare.”<sup>59</sup> And in the place of a large army under Ferguson's command, Cornwallis received into his ranks about a hundred frightened, crest fallen Tories. Draper makes a statement which may, perhaps, be read with a grain of allowance. It follows: “King's Mountain paved the way for the successive advantages gained by the American arms . . . and ultimately

<sup>58</sup>Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, pp. 357, 358.

<sup>59</sup>Irving, IV., pp. 193-194.





for the crowning victory of York Town, with the glorious fruition of 'INDEPENDENCE FOREVER.' <sup>760</sup>

Most certainly to the frontiersmen, and especially those of Montgomery county, Virginia, where the Tories had been most numerous, the victory brought great joy, for it forced back a circle of British and red men which had been drawing close about that district since Charleston had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The hostile plans relative to the Lead Mines were no longer dangerous. The mountaineers could again turn their eyes westward, where the Indians were burning crops and homes and waging a veritable war of extermination, without fearing the immediate presence of a foe to the rear.

It was thought that the Cherokees might consider it an opportune time to conclude peace with the bordermen. Certainly the victory at King's Mountain would point the Indians to such a course. Therefore a peace movement was promulgated, and Preston was appointed a member on the Committee which was to draw up terms of amnesty with that wayward nation. They met at Long Island in January 1781, but nothing came of the conference, due to a continued activity of British and Tory agents, many of whom had taken refuge after King's Mountain, in the Indian country.<sup>61</sup>

Meanwhile Cornwallis was active in Carolina. To successfully oppose him, General Greene required reinforcements, and therefore he asked Governor Jefferson of Virginia for the same. Preston was one of the men ordered to the South. Pursuant to this command, he assembled about 300 men at the Lead Mines and led them in person into North Carolina. He had been assigned to Pickens' division. On February 7, 1781, Col. Preston received a letter from Pickens, urging haste, for the enemy had directed their course towards Hillsborough and "it was expedient that they be opposed before they could be covered by their Shipping."<sup>62</sup> General Greene at this time was following Cornwallis.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, p. 377.

<sup>61</sup>Summers, *History of South West Virginia*, p. 348.

<sup>62</sup>*Preston Papers*.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, an unaddressed letter dated February, 1781.



Preston had begun his march on February 18. Tarleton was ordered by the British leader to intercept the reinforcements from the Virginia mountains, but Pickens, hearing of this, threw himself with great difficulty between the enemy and Preston's troops. On February 28, the latter joined the Southern army,<sup>64</sup> and later took an active part in the engagement at Whitzell's Mill where his company, with several others, under the immediate command of Col. Campbell who had reported with only 60 men, was left to cover the rear of Pickens' wing. The British came up, attacked the American force. It was during this skirmish that Col. Preston's young, wiry horse took fright, dashed through the mill pond, and threw its rider. At this time, Preston was rather corpulent and not over-active; undoubtedly he owed his life to his friend, Col. Joseph Cloyd, who leaped from his horse and helped his old Captain and Colonel to mount again.<sup>65</sup>

During the battle of Guilford Court House, Preston's troop acquitted themselves like heroes. They were exceedingly good marksmen and were placed at the critical positions on the field of battle.

After the engagement at Guilford Court House, Col. Preston returned to Montgomery County, Virginia. On May 28, 1781, he was ordered to reinforce Lafayette in eastern Virginia with 187 men.<sup>66</sup> On June 12, he was informed in a letter from William Fleming of the capture of Charlottesville by Tarleton, and that "the peculiar circumstances and situation of your County & Washington have induced the members of Council to withdraw the requisition of men from either of them."<sup>67</sup> On July 15, orders were given by William Davies for Col. Preston to send one seventh part of his militia to join General Greene in the South.<sup>68</sup> On July 17, the requisition was increased from one seventh to one fourth.<sup>69</sup> In the latter part of July, Pres-

<sup>64</sup>Johnston, *History of the Middle New River Settlements*, pp. 81, 82.

<sup>65</sup>Floyd MSS., Mrs. Letitia Floyd to her son, "Ben," February 22, 1843.

<sup>66</sup>Preston Papers.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*





ton wrote to Col. Davies and Gov. Nelson that he deemed it practically impossible to raise the full quota of troops demanded, for the frontier lay exposed to the savages and, a large percent of the inhabitants who were disaffected, skulked through the woods awaiting a withdrawal of the patriot militia when they might once more organize in a movement against the settlements. Nevertheless, he exerted himself to the utmost in regard to the assembling of the reinforcement for General Greene. But when his efforts had almost culminated in success, the Indians again attacked the settlements. He made report of conditions to the Governor, and planned for the defence of the frontier; many of the inhabitants had fled from the exposed positions to the lower country. The field officers of Montgomery and Washington counties met together and conjunctively planned for the protection of their lives and homes. On July 23, 1782, Gov. Harrison wrote Col. Preston, thanking him for the active part he had taken in this time of danger; it appears that there must have been some friction between Col. Preston and Col. Campbell of Washington county in regard to the command of a force which the Governor had authorized to be raised. In this same letter, His Excellency expressed surprise that Col. Campbell should object to the militia of both counties "being under your command" for the proposal that the men should be under one command came from him, "but nothing less than his being the man would content him."<sup>70</sup> At any rate, Col. Preston would not have been able to accept the position because of his own ill health. From the middle of 1782 until the date of his death, he was unable to take the field; he had never fully recovered from the fall which he had sustained at Whitzell's Mill and, in his last few years, apoplectic symptoms developed which became serious and finally caused his death, June 28, 1783. Mrs. Letitia Floyd has given us the best account of his last days.

"After Col. Preston's return from North Carolina, his health continued to decline . . . . On the morning of the 28th, he prepared to attend a regiment muster at Michael Price's.

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<sup>70</sup>*Preston Papers.*





three miles from Smithfield. His eldest son, Gen. John Preston, then a youth, accompanied him, as did Gen. Shelby. The day was exceeding hot. After being on the field a few hours, he beckoned to his son, John, to come to him, complained of pain in the head, desired to lie down on Price's bed. . . . By this time he had lost his speech but took his son's hand, rolled up his shirt sleeve and made a sign for his son to bleed him. This Gen. Preston could not do. Mrs. Preston was sent for immediately who reached the place. Col. Preston's reason had not been staggered in this conflict, he caught his wife's hand, kissed it, shed tears, and made a motion to be bled . . . about midnight he breathed his last. Col. Floyd was killed on the 12th of April, 1783. When the news reached Col. Preston, such was the feeling produced by it, that Preston was never seen to smile again. Col. Preston was above the ordinary height of men, five feet, eleven inches. He was large, inclined to corpulency, was ruddy, had fair hair and hazel eyes. His manners were easy and graceful. He had a well cultivated intellect and a fine taste for poetry. I remember reading several beautiful productions of his, addressed to my mother in praise of her domestic virtues."

Col. Preston was one of the most influential men on the frontier. He possessed an enviable reputation for honesty and square dealing. He was modest and unassuming though he was actively engaged in all the big movements of his time and was intimately acquainted with such men as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Benjamin Harrison, George Washington and others almost equally as prominent. His many letters testify to a gentlemanly bearing, a deep religious temperament, and a quiet modesty that must have marked him as a man among men. He left a wife, and twelve children who married into the best families of the Old Dominion, and among his descendants are numbered Congressmen, Governors, and others of high rank who have caused the name of Preston to become honored and revered in the history of our country. In closing this short sketch, it is appropriate only to add that its subject was a brave man who feared God,



a man who lived an exemplary life from the standpoints of honesty, truth, and bravery,—and lastly, and probably the greatest of all for it contains all other virtues, true patriotism for true patriotism embodies all vital things, long-suffering, sacrifice, and an upright mind and heart.





## PRESTON PAPERS.

GOVERNOR DUNMORE TO COL. CHAS. LEWIS.

July 24, 1774.

Sir: I recd Your Letter by hand of your Brother Col Andrew Lewis. You justly observe acting on the Defensive is employing our men to very little Purpose for which Reason I am Determined to proceed immediately to F Dunmore on the mouth of Wheeling with 250 or 350 good men or as many more as can be Spared in order to compell the Indians to a lasting Peace after chastising them for their late Murders & out Rages. I have ordered Your Brother to join me at Wheelin or the mouth of the Great Kanahaway as is most convenient for him with as respectable Body of good men as he can raise in any reasonable Time. I have ordered up Salt, Flour & Ammunition & as I shall march immediately on hearing from Your Brother & will be impatient to see You on the Ohio. I desire that you will acquaint me as near as you can by express about what time I am to expect you, all our Intentions should be kept as secret as possible as great deal depends on Secrecy & Dispatch.

A COUNCIL HELD AUGUST 12TH, 1774. BOTETOURT COUNTY,  
VIRGINIA.

Present: Col. Andrew Lewis, Col. Wm. Fleming, Col. Wm. Preston, and Col. Wm. Christian.

Being met to consult what would be necessary to forward the present Expedition It appears to them, that from the frequent murders committed by the Indians, & their daily appearance amongst the Inhabitants, (the people in general are backward in entering themselves Volunteers in the intended Expedition) apprehensive the Frontiers will want protection in their absence from this section; It is very uncertain what men the recruiting Officers will be able to raise; then It is therefore thought absolutely necessary to call in Assistance from the



Counties of Bedford and Pitsylvania. And that Commanding Officers of Bedford be applied to for two companies of his Militia with proper officers, to march to the Frontiers of Bottetourt; And that the Commanding Officer of Pitsylvania be applied to for two Companies of his Militia with officers to march to the Frontiers of Fincastle County, that both our Frontiers may be protected during the expedition, & our Numbers increased. It is likewise thought necessary that as a Company of Volunteers for the Expedition is raising in Bedford, the Commanding Officer in Pitsylvania may be applied to for a company from that County for the same service, & if it should be found after these methods used that our numbers are still deficient to carry on the Expedition, it is our opinion, both from his Honor the Governor's Instructions & Ye Invasion Law in force that the militia be draughted & that they ought accordingly to be draughted.

COL. PRESTON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPT. BUCHANAN.

Montgomery, March 17, 1777.

Sir,

In Conformity to Orders I have just received from his Excellency, the Governor of Virginia, You are with the assistance of Mr. Joseph Drake, who is to Act as Lieutenant, and Mr. Ephriam Drake, who is to Act as Ensign to Engage fifty Men—Rank & File & under the usual Non-Commissioned Officers, out of the Militia of this County. As I have reason to believe from the Influence you and Your Subalterns may have with the Young Men, that you will be able to Engage that Number Voluntarily to go to the Protection of the People in Kentucky County, I therefore shall not now give any Orders for a Draught but should you fail of getting that Number in the Interior Part of this Country you are to inform me thereof. that a Draught may be made to Compleat the Company.

You and your Officers must set out immediately on this Service & after engaging the Number of Men required to hold Yourself in Readiness to March on the Shortest Notice, when



joined by the Company from Botetourt, & the Necessary Provisions are made for the Journey. Should there be a Field Officer belonging to that County on the Spot or to march out with You, You are to be under his Command, if not, the oldest Captain is to have the Command while you remain in the Service.

You are to do everything in Your Power to Protect & Defend the Settlers in that Country, in Conjunction with the Botetourt Company, till Further Orders. In case it shall be judged impossible to hold the Country with this Reinforcement joined to the inhabitants, then You are to Exhort all the People with their Effects to the nearest place of Safety & Disband, if you receive no further orders from the Governor or by his Direction.

You will be supplied with Provisions & Ammunition on Your March out, & while you continue on Duty which will be no longer then the Safety of the Settlers demand Your Assistance.

Permit me Sir, to Request and exhort you and your officers to be as Expeditious as Possible in Compleating the Company; and by all means to keep up Good Discipline and order amongst Your Men To do everything in Your Power for the Protection of those Distressed People; to be constantly on your guard so as not to suffer you Company to be surprised by the Enemy. You are Punctually & implicitly to Obey the Orders of Your Commanding Officer on All Occasions; as nothing can Contribute more to render Your Service Essential, by such conduct, you will not only secure the Esteem of the People You are going to defend, but merit the notice & regard of the Government, itself.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

January 16, 1778.

Sir,

Amidst the Arduous Business in which you are necessarily engaged as Governor and Chief Magistrate of an Extensive State, it gives me Pain to trouble Your Excellency with a





Letter, or to detain you a moment from more important Affairs to attend to the Situation of this Remote Part of the Commonwealth. But as it is of a Public Nature, and to the last Degree Interesting to a great number of People on the Frontier, I therefore flatter myself I shall stand excused.

The late barbarous, inhuman, and impolitic Murder committed at the Point on the Cornstalk and his Party, by a Number of rash inconsiderate Villains, I am fully convinced will be followed by the most direful Consequences to this long extended Frontier. As it cannot be supposed the Shawneese, a warlike bloodthirsty, and revengeful Nation of Savages, will suffer the Injury done them in the murder of their Leaders and Beloved Men to pass unrevenged. On the Contrary, it is more reasonable to believe that they will, with the Assistance and Advice of our Enemies at Detroit, and about the Lakes, form a general Confederacy with all the Indians beyond the Ohio, and when the Season admits make one desperate attack upon all the Frontier Inhabitants from Pittsburg to the lower settlement of Clinch and the Kentucky; as they did from Colo Cresap's in Maryland to this spot on the 17th of July 1763, by which a great Number of lives were lost, though the Country was but thinly Inhabited at that Time in Comparison with what it is now.

I acknowledge Sir, that this detestable Murder was Committed by backwoods M[en] who ought to have behaved in a Manner very different; and I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that upwards of one hundred Persons in this County alone have yet refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to the State, many of whom are disarmed, and the remainder soon will, who cannot claim, nor are they entitled to Protection while they remain Obstinate. These facts, with the unthinking Part of Mankind, may operate against the Frontiers in General. But with Your Excellency and the Hon'ble Council, I am convinced they will have no weight, to whom it will readily Seem that several thousand good subjects to the State ought not to suffer for the Indiscretion and Obstinaey of a few, whose Principle & Practice are so generally condemned and abhorred.



The Inhabitants in this and the neighboring Counties, especially those most exposed to Danger, are in the greatest consternation. Being generally in low Circumstances, they are not able to remove and support their families in the interior Parts of the State, and by continuing at their Homes, without the Assistance of Government, or the immediate Interposition of Providence, they & their helpless Families must fall a Sacrifice to Savage Fury and Revenge.

Permit me therefore Sir, at the Request of Many, and on Behalf of thousands thus exposed, amongst whom is my own Family, to Petition Your Excellency & the Honourable the Council to adopt some speedy measures for the Protection of the Frontier Inhabitants, firmly hoping that the Baseness or a few, as before observed, will not prevent Your Excellency from taking the most effectual Steps in Your Power to the [ms. defective] of the whole, or, at least, of those who are most exposed to Danger. Should this be omitted or delayed, I am fully convinced, from long Experience, that this Country, or a great Part of it will be depopulated before May next, and the enemy, like blood-hounds, will pursue, untill they overtake their Prey; even to the South Side of the Blue Ridge, as they did not many Years ago. These Apprehensions, are not my own simply, they are Supported by the Opinion of every thinking Person in this Country; For, if a Judgement may be formed of the Shawnesse future Behaviour, by what has been experienced of it for twenty four Years past, there is not any Reason that I know of, to doubt the Event.

As I know myself unequal to the Task, I therefore shall not attempt to form any Plan, or say what Measures should be fallen upon for our Protection. But whatever they may be, whether Offensive or Defensive, I would just mention, and with the utmost Deference, that it might be necessary to have a Quantity of Provisions Secured immediately, while they may be had, which will not be the case two months hence.

The great and general Scarcity of Salt has prevented the People from laying up the Quantity of Pork they otherwise would have done, so that I understand Numbers of Hogs in





good order might be purchased along the Frontiers & at this Time Indian Corn might be bought, tho dear. There is, I hear, no wheat [ms. defective] in this or any of the neighboring Counties that can be purchased for the Support of the Troops; nor can any article whatever be had without laying down the money for it.

The want of Lead is a most discouraging Circumstance to the Inhabitants in this Time of Danger. They offer any Price but their Money Cannot Purchase it.

I would willingly hope, that this General, but just, Representation of the Situation of the Frontier Inhabitants, & my Petition on their Behalf, will give Your Excellency no cause of Offence, as I am actuated by no other Motive than the Protection of a People with whom I must stand or fly; and who, in my Opinion, are in the most imminent Danger.

GENERAL MCINTOSH TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Fort McIntosh, Beaver Creek, October 30, 1778.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that my plan of erecting posts in proper places, and securing as I go into Indian Country has its proper effect, and alarms the Savages much. Several Tribes have already applied to me for peace, but I have given them no encouragement yet until they give me substantial proof of their Sincerity, and until I go to the Delaware Towns, where I propose setting off from here in two or three days, and build a fort there, to secure these people in our Interest from whence I may make excursions to some of the hostile towns, but fear I will be disappointed in my designs by the shortness of the term the Militia are engaged for, unless the Lieutenants, or Commanding Officers of the Several Counties of Virginia exert themselves in sending me a fresh supply of men to relieve those I have now, whose times will all expire the first day of January next except the Hampshire Militia who are engaged for Six Months, and it will be needless to trouble the people, by sending them upon such an Ex-



pedition as this, for a short term, as the distance is so great, and growing still greater as I proceed, and the men so tedious collecting them together, marching out, and returning home again, which takes up the greatest part of the time, therefore, it will be best, that the six months should be from the time they arrive at my headquarters untill they are discharged from thence (if their Service should be so long required) as I do not mean to make only an Excursion into the Indian Country, as has been always done hitherto and have the same continually to do over again, but to keep possession as I go, if I am properly supported with men, and insure if possible the future peace of this Part of the Country. As I have not troubled you before I must request of you now Sir to send me two hundred active young men properly Officered, armed and accoutred as soon as possible that I may not loose any posts or Ground I may gain in the Indian Country. They should set off at farthest before the first of December to be up with me in time.

PATRICK HENRY TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Williamsburg, Va., November 20, 1778.

Sir,

I have been given to understand that General McIntosh very lately demanded two hundred men from your County to join him on his Expedition against the Indians, and that they are ordered to march immediately to the Delaware Towns. This matter has been maturely considered in full Council; and the Result is, that I am advised to countermand the General's Orders, which I do hereby countermand. I need not tell you that it is with great Reluctance the Executive have interfered in this affair. But the Impracticability of marching the Troops at this inclement Season, thro' a Country destitute of Supplies, the want of Tents, Kettles, provisions, & I may add of every necessary for such an undertaking renders a Compliance with the General's Request absolutely impossible.



## COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO PATRICK HENRY.

Montgomery, November 25, 1778.

Sir,

I beg to inform Your Excellency, that on the 15th Instant I received a Letter from General McIntosh, dated at Beaver Creek the 30th of October in which is Requisition for 200 act. young men from Monty. militia, properly offic. &c. to meh. by Dec. 1, to his headquarters. They were to serve six months time begin on day of arrival & expire on day they left Camp.

In Consequence of the General's demand, Orders were immediately issued, and sent by Express, to every Captain in this County, commanding each to raise Quota of Men to compose this Body of Troops; and at the same Time send out a Field Officer to take a Tour through the County, to use his influence amongst the Militia, to enable me to comply with the Demand. But from what I can learn from several Officers I have seen, and indeed from my own knowledge of the Number and Circumstances of the Militia of this County, I am of Opinion it will be impossible to raise that Number of Troops on this Occasion.

Last Spring, when the Draught was to be made in this County for the Continental Army, it appeared by the Captains Returns that there were but two hundred and sixty single Effective Men in the County, and of which Our Quota was Draughted, part of whom joined the Army, and the remainder deserted, I suppose, out of the State, altho' every method was taken to prevent it. Sometime ago I rec'd Orders from the Hon'ble the Lieut Governor of this State to embody fifty Militia immediately with proper officers to Garrison Fort Randolph; these Men have been Draughted and every possible measure taken to raise them, which has hitherto proved Ineffectual, as I hear many have deserted So. Carolina, and to the Mountains from whence they can not be drawn; and I am sensible that many Young Men without Property or Connexions quit the Country Last Summer, rather than serve in the





Militia where, they complained, the Pay was so small that it could not support them. By these means we have not single Men enough left in the Country to make up this Detachment.

The Young active Men who have Families are by no means able to go into a Service as Distant from their Homes, and to be absent eight & perhaps ten, Months without giving up those Families to ruin and Beggary, which many of them are on the Brink of already, owing to the Troubles and distresses they have undergone already by an almost continued War with the Savages for four or five years last past, in which they have lost their Time, their Property & even their Crops. I could point out whole detached Settlements on these Frontiers, where there have not been a Barrel of Corn raised to the Head last Summer & where they have nothing to feed the remains of their Stock on, but are obliged to drive them a considerable Distance to Cane Brakes & Mountains to preserve their Lives through the Winter. Such I do, with great Truth, aver to be the Wretched Situation of many at this Time. And, Indeed, in the Interior part of the County, if any part can be so termed with Propriety, where the People have on Many Occasions been cooped up in Forts, and serving in the Militia last Summer, I am convinced they have not raised generally, more than half a Crop of any kind.

Though our Muster Roll amounts to more than Six Hundred men, yet I cannot believe we have even that Number in the County who are fully capable of the Common Service of Militia; and to draw off a Third of those so great a Distance to the first of August next, must, I humbly conceive, leave this extended and often harassed Frontier too much exposed to Danger.

To drag Men from their Homes on a few Day's Notice, under the above Circumstances, to the distance of four, five, or six hundred Miles, on a Duty of eight or ten Months, through a Front of Country interspersed with several high Mountains and many large rapid Watercourses, at this rigorous Season of the Year into a Northern Climate, without a



Tent or Blanket to shelter them by Night, or half clothing to cover them by Day from the inclemency of the Weather; and at the same time, to leave their helpless & unhappy Families, exposed to every species of Wretchedness, Misery and Distress, to which Hunger, Nakedness, Poverty and Danger can subject them, must be shocking to Humanity; not to mention that such a March must render those Troops or rather the Survivors of them, incapable of Service the ensuing Campaign.

Were it even possible that the Men could be raised there is another difficulty in Marching them, which, to me, appears insurmountable; & that is, to supply them with Provisions & Necessaries for the Journey. This Task Colo Mathews has laid on the Cammanding Officers of Botetourt, Rockbridge, Washington & Montgomery, who are under the same Orders. in a County already drained of Provisions and Necessaries, and without a Shilling put into the Hands of any Person for the Purpose.

After the above detail of Facts, I would humbly beg the interposition of Your Excellency and the Hon'ble, the Council in this Important Business, in any Manner that may be judged most eligible to prevent the Evils above enumerated, and many others; amongst whom, that of a general Mutiny and defiance of the Law is One, which I am really, and not without Foundation, apprehensive of, both in this and one of the neighbouring Counties. And should this be the case, the Number of Draughts and their Connexions, would be too formidable to Quell with the remainder of the Militia, if they even could be prevailed on to engage in the Business. At the same Time, in Justice to the Militia of these Counties, I must observe they proffered the greatest Readiness this Fall to serve on an Expedition to be carried immediately into the Indian Country even till Christmas or longer and I firmly believe they would most cheerfully have engaged in the Undertaking.

Should the above Application, in behalf of the Militia, fail of the desired effect, I would then beg Your Excellency will





be pleased to give Orders for the Appointment of a Commissary and supplying him with Money to furnish Provisions, Pack Horses, Tents, Blankits, Camp Kittles and other necessities for these Troops in case any of them can be drawn, or forced into the Service.

It was with the utmost Diffidence I attempted to make this Representation to Your Excellency, lest it might be thought that I had a Design to retard the Expedition. But be Assured, Sir, that only two or three Officers of known Candour are Privy hereto, that I shall exhort myself to the utmost of my Power to raise the Men, untill I am favoured with Your Excellency's answer, to which I shall Pay the most implicit Obedience, and that nothing but the Distresses of the People, and the Apprehension of bad Consequences could have prevailed on me to give Your Excellency any Trouble on this Occasion.

GENERAL MCINTOSH TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Fort Laurens upon Muskingum River,  
Monday, December 7, 1778.

Sir,

I have advanced this far into the Indian Country, and built a good large Stockade Fort here with Barracks to contain two hundred Men or more, when they Can be had, to make Excursions into any of the Hostile Towns, who will dare Offend and Insult us, which I hope will Secure the peace of our Frontiers in this quarter at least.

But unhappily the Short Engagement of the Militia prevent my proceeding any farther, and disappointed all my other Schemes, their times were neer out, and I could not prevail upon them to remain longer, which Shows the Necessity of making their term of Service hereafter on such an Expedition as this, and such a Distance, Six Months from the time they Rendezvous at Fort McIntosh otherwise it will be needless trouble to the people, and expence to the Public, which I expect will be considered by your State, and the Lieutenants of each County.



I wrote to you the 30th, October for some men to relieve those now here, but as I find nothing more can be done this Winter, I must request you to put a Stop to their March at this time only to have them ready when I Shall require them in the Spring, which I expect to do, and inform you of it in time.

[INSTRUCTIONS] TO THE SCOUTS THAT GO DOWN NEW  
RIVER.

[No date.]

Gentlemen,

You are to proceed immediately to the Pass that leads from Cole River to the Great Glades and after spending some time there you will keep on to where the Indian Path leaves Cole River and leads to the Painted Trees on Indian Creek. This Place must be strictly observed. I would have you then go on to the painted Trees and after spending some time at that considerable Pass, I would then recommend it to you to Travel that part of the Country to all such Places as appear most likely to discover Indians or the signs of them on their approach to the Inhabitants. As I am not acquainted with that Part of the Country I must leave It Intirely to your own Prudence and Judgement to Range in such other Places as you may Judge most for the safety of the Inhabitants & where there is the greatest probability of making Discoveries and Should you make any you are as much as in your Powr to endeavor to find out their Rout & whether they are Traveling & Hunting in a careless manner or if they are Cautious and watchfull. You must not attempt to Fire on any except in your own Defence. But on making any proper Discovery you are to send off one of your party to me without loss of time with a full account who is also to give the Inhabitants notice of the Danger if you really believe there is any. The other two are to stay and carefully watch the motions of the Indians untill they can nearly Judge where they intend to fall on the Inhabitants of which the scouts are to give immediate notice. Upon the whole I expect and Depend that you will



Perform this very important service with the utmost Care Resolution & Fidelity; and by no means loose any time but keep constantly on Foot, as the Lives and Properties of Numbers depends on your care and prudent attention to the Business as well as the success of any attempt to that may be made by the militia to repell the Enemy should they come in a Hostile Manner after you have fully Ranged that part of the Country & proceeded as low as you Judge proper which I suppose will employ you two or three weeks if you observe no fresh signs or make any Discoveries I would be glad you would either Send in one of your Body or Send one of the lowermost Inhabitants home oppy. I would be fond to hear from you.

I need not again mention The Necessity of yr Performing This service in The best manner as I suppose you have some [idea?] of The Importance of it as well as the Safety of Yr Families who are equally Exposed with others. You are to find yr own provisions which I make no doubt the Country will pay you for.

From Culberson Bottom to ye big Crab Orchard.....	60
from thence to Maidens Spring.....	15
from thence to Elk Garden.....	17
to the Glade Hollows.....	13

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105

	105
to lowins [?] fort.....	10
Moors fort .....	5
Blackmores .....	20
to Mochison Gap .....	18
to ye Great Eatons [?].....	8
to Donelsons Line .	8

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WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

McGavock, April 7, 1779.

Sir,

We are alarmed with Tories two Men on Oath have informed, that their Plan is ripe for Execution. They are immediately to Proceed in Parties to Disarm the friends of the Country, some they are to Kill & Destroy, & Proceed to Destroy the Lead Mines. They inform us of the Names of Near Twenty, Some of which are to be Commanders in Executing this Diabolical Plot, one on Oath Says that a certain Duncan Oquillon said he woud Scalp Preston & McGavock before he joined the indians with them, proceed to Kill and Destroy all Before them, they promise their followers 2/6 Sterling per day & 450 acres of land Clear of Quit rents for Twentyone years. Now Sr on this Alarming News, I have with Advice ordered about fifty men to Assist the Sheriff to Bring those Villian to Justice in hopes it May Stop them. I thought it my Duty to inform you Immediately of this. Have therefore Sent Express. in the Meantime, I shall do Everything in my Power. You will Please to give me Your advice and instructions.

N. B. I have Also ordered Capt MacDowell to imbody a company on the head of Clintch till further orders.

JAMES MCGAVOCK TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

April 15, 1779.

Dear Sir,

By Bryan Brompton I Reed your letter of April ye 12th And would have Given you earlier Intelligence, but I Expected Major Crockett had. Inclosed you have the names of the Tories that was taken. The Companies that they belong to. and the steps taken. John Henderson Nathaniel Britain and Philip Lambert of Capt Montgomerys Company admitted to Bail. Joseph McFarland, John Atter, John Stephenson and Joseph Erwin, of Capt Stephens Company admitted to Bail.



Dunkin Gullion and Nicholas Werwick of Sd Company put into Irons. Perhaps Some of the above mentioned Tories Named in Capt Stephens Company may belong to the Next Companies, as I am not well acquainted with them, nor can have no Intelligence at Present. Philip Myer Wm Block and Daniel Liberton, Continental Soldiers, and taken under Suspicion of Joining the others in the Conspiracy. Being examined nothing of Consequence appeared against them. One of them had a Furloe from you, and says they are ready and willing to march off whenever you call upon them, and was sent to the lead Mines on the guard. A Day after Duncan Gullion and Nicholas and Daniel Werwick was put in Irons they confessed that a certain John Griffith who lives on the South Fork of Holston, was the Person who Enlisted them for the King, and Administered the Oath of Allegiance to them. Said Griffith was Immediately took into custody, and is now Admitted to Bail. I can Assure you Sir that when the Witnesses was Examined against Gullion Werwick and Britain that it Appeared Every By Stander was alarmed, and Expected themselves to be in great danger, No papers has yet been Found among them, nor any Further Discoveries made. From all Sircumstances I am lead to believe, that the Nonjurers in Your Quarter, are Joined with those on Walkers Creek and on Red Creek. From Words that Dropt from Briton after he was admitted to Bail, He said he never left his own House, But the People on all Quarters Round him and From Carolina Says that the County is Sold to the French, and that they may as well fight under the King of Great Britain, as to be Subjects to France. It has not been made Punctually appear, that any has taken the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Great Britain But the two Above Mentioned.

I cannot conceive that all that has been done to them will put a Stop to their Horrid and Bloody Designs, For had not their Plot Been Discovered it plainly appears before this time they would have Committed Murder, and now Sir Self Defence makes it Necessary to call men From other counties to our Assistance. In my Opinion there never was such a Necess-





sity. We seem to be but a handful in the Middle, and Surrounded by a Multitude. Just Consider your own Quarter, and we are much the Same. Colo Lynch has gone to Bedford and I Acquainted Mr. Sanders what you wrote me on that Head. Charles Deverox has gone to Clinch but I shall do everything in my Power to have the Chot Brought to my House.

I wrote to Major Crockett that you were Very Anctious to Hear from Him.

Nance Nuderlin the little Spinning Girl the day before Mr. Buchanan moved away Came to My House, and asked me if I had not promised you to send her down to M Thompson, I told her I had and that I would send a boy and a horse with her any Minute. She then told me she had quit the notion of going, and I could not persuade her to it.

I am sorry to hear that your Situation is such that you cannot venture to leave home. For Indeed Sir I think the Business now on hand loudly calls for you. For my part I wish for nothing Else than to give them a fair cool and Impertial tryal. But as the Business is new, and perhaps not one member to Spare, more than would take a Court. Without you it may be very Difficult.

DEPOSITION OF MICHAEL KENNINGER TAKEN BY COL. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

April 18, 1779.

The Deposition of Michael Kenninger taken before me Saith. That as he was upon his march last Spring with some other Draughts from Washington County he met at Helvays in Montgomery County a certain Adam Rayner living the Deponant, thinks on peak Creek, who dissuaded the said Kenninger from proceeding on his March, & prevailed upon him to desert. That he then went immediately into North Carolina and there chiefly associated with Tories. From thence he returned to Peter Razor's upon the South Fork of Holston where he was entertained five or Six Weeks, the said Razor at the



same time knowing him to be a Deserter & used arguments to dissuade him from joining the American Army.

That he then became acquainted with a certain John Griffith who lives upon the South Fork of Holston Swore the Deponant not to lift arms against the King of Great Britain & his Heirs, and to keep secret a plot formed against the Country, in which the said Griffith was principally concerned as he informed the Deponant which plot was as soon as they could to join the English & Indians and assist them in destroying the Country. The Deponant further says that Peter Razor himself informed him that John Griffith swore him also not to lift arms against the King of Great Britain & to keep secret the said plot. That he saw said Griffith administer the Oath to a certain Frederick [blank] who lives on Reed Creek & gave him a Certificate of the same. That he had administered said Oath to Henry Weiss, Moses Wells, Frederick Slamp, Joshua Jones, & Jn. Lewis and had upon his List the names of Jenkins Williams, Jno. Vant David Vant Humphrey But old Vant who has the mill Henry Vant Philip Lottenger, Benjamin John, Griffith Lewis, Francis Kittering, Peter Kittering, Peter Kinder, Frederick Bronstedder & Andrew Bronstedder. That the Deponant was not long since with some other recruits at Colo. Wm. Prestons & upon his return, at Adam Waggonners they met with one Matthias Crumb with whom he had some Conversation, & among other things said Crumb told the Deponant that 4000 men had joined him against the Country having Subscribed a paper to that purpose; and that sd. Crumb as he informed the Deponant was to have the Command of them; and added that the dispute between Great Britain and America would shortly be finished— That David McKenzie, Danl. Sebertin, Philip Morris, Isaac Williamson, &—(the name forgot) Soldiers enlisted in Captains Stephens, Buchanans & Francis Company had formed a plan to go off to the English, & that they only listed to get some Money to have their Expenses upon their Journey. And further Saith not.



WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

April 24, 1779.

Sir,

I Received yours by the Express Mr. Phillips and will do my Endeavor to put your orders in to execution and to have those deluded people brought to Justice if Possible, perhaps they may be more upon thire Gaurd then thay were at the first knowing that OGullion and Wirick pretends to turn States Evidence Against the Tories in these parts. It was upon their information that John Griffith was taken but thay are Such men that there Cannot be no Great Confidence put in what thay Say. which was the Reason that Griffith was allowed his liberty upon Baill for his appearance at Court, there to Stand a furdur Trial. It appears by the deposition that Colo. Campbell Sent you that he is as Great a Villian as they Said he was.

N. B. Sir I would Request it as a favour of you if you Can possibly leave Your family in safty that you will attend at the may Court as there is a Great number of the Tories to be tried. The greatest part of our Court is young Justices and Not Verry well Versed in the Law and in my Opinion would not be the worse of a Good Steedy old Gentleman as Your Self to Seat at their head.

JAMES MCGAVOCK TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

April 25, 1779.

Sir,

Your letter of April the 12th came to my hand; And I answered it on every head as, near the truth of the case as lay in my power, and had the favourable opportunity of sending the answer By Mr. Wm. Skilron who told me that he would deliver it at your house. No late Discoveries has been made relative to the Tories, only by one George Parks who lived on Walkers Creek and was in company with John Cox, when Said Cox Inquired at him whether he was for the King or the Country. Parks told him that he took the State Oath, and





had no reason to be against his Country. Cox Said he was sorry for Him, and if that was his sentiment he never would enjoy a foot of land in America, and what little he had gathered would be taken from him. And he further Said that the Whigs would never get Britain as far as Staunton Goal. By what I understand from Parks who knows the mind of Britain, there is a great combination of them Joined together and Indeed Sir I am afraid they will Execute their Devilage Designs if not by Some means prevented.

JAMES MONTGOMERY TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

June 11, 1779.

Dear Sir,

Thought it my Duty to inform you what has happened in our Quarter Since the Court Relative to the Tories. On Saturday the Fifth of this Instant in the Night, a party of them came to the house of Wm. Phips And Fired four guns into his house Two Bullets through his Door, And on hearing some of his people upstairs Fired two through the Roof, And Indeavoured to Set the house on fire And on the Occasion, had Daniel Atter and one of Nicholas Werwicks sons bound over to the court. Tho I am lead to believe, for Reasons that happened afterwards. Atter was Innocent. On Wednesday the Eight, Very Early in the morning, at James McGavock's a Person was discovered, it is Generally Believed, Dunkin Gullion. About two o'clock the same Day his boys Started them from their camp about two hundred yards from his house where they had lain over Night, and pened up his Sheep, and cacted Seven with the Dog, and killed them, and took the meat of four with them. That same night about eleven of the clock, two of them was Discovered at his house, but got no Damage Done, as he had four Senturies planted out, it amounts to a certainty that they Intend to kill James McGavock or burn his houses. For the Dog that they cacted his sheep with is seen every Day by some Person or other.

I have wrote to Capt Pierce and Capt Frances. for Six men



out of Each Company, with a small Detachment of my own to Range two or three Days untill I Receive Instructions From You. I can Assure you Sir that things appear Very Alarming, and without Speedy Measures is taken we shall be in a bad Situation in this Quarter.

COL. WILLIAM CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Lead Mines, July 16th, 1779.

Sir,

I mentioned to you in my Letter by Snids that Capt. Cox had come to this place; since which I have taken his Deposition, and which I enclose to you. He seems to be under great concern lest his neighbours, who were concern'd in the late Conspiracy Should discover that he has made any Information. He tells me that his Life & Property are threatened, in case he discovers anything upon them. He apologizes for not giving early Intelligence of the Insurrection, by saying that he was almost constantly watched by some of the Insurgents, and that there was no person near him, in whom he could confide, excepting his son, & had he Sent him, the Consequences, he expected, would have been almost as bad as if he had come himself. He has been Suspected here; though from the manner in which he gave his Deposition, I cannot help thinking charitable of him.

A few men have met here this evening in order to go up the River tomorrow. I expect some more tomorrow morning. After going up, I shall as soon as possible endeavor to let you know what State things are there in.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO COL. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

[Smithfield, Va.],  
July 19, 1779.

Sir,

Yesterday at noon I recd a Letter from Mr. McGavock informing a number of Tories had embodied up the River, which





was the first certain Account I had got from that Quarter. On receiving his Letter I ordered four or five Companies to be draughted & put under proper Officers to reinforce you, lest the Number of Insurgents might be too great for what men you might be able to Collect on the Occasion, and that no time might be lost I directed the Draught to take horses.

Last night at ten O'clock I reed your very obliging Letter giving me a more perfect Account than any I had before of the Behaviour of those disorderly Deluded Wretches, upon which I have this morning sent an Express to Colo Ingles countermanding the orders I issued yesterday; as I am in hopes your Party will be Sufficiently strong to answer every Purpose of taking and disarming as many as can be discovered who were concerned in the Insurrection as also the Arch-Robber Coyle & his Gang of Freebooters.

I was so far from considering that you were over buisy in this Affair, that I was heartily and sincerely rejoiced when I heard you had come so readily & timeously to our Aid. Your coming from another County with a Company must convince those stupid Wretches that they have more Counties than one to contend with, and consequently deter them from any future Attempts of that kind. I beg to return you, Sir, & your Company my most sincere Thanks for Your Conduct on this Occasion, & I am convinced there is not a Man in Montgomery County, who is a friend to the Commonwealth, but would readily join me herein.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

[Williamsburg, Va.],  
August 7, 1779.

Sir,

You are desired to call together your field officers & in conjunction with them to commend to the Executive a Lieutenant & an Ensign to take command in one of the battalions to be raised for the defence of the western frontier under an act of the late assembly [manuscript defective] for raising a body



of troops for the defence of the Commonwealth. The men to be raised in your county under the same act & the Officers to be recommended by you, if appointed, are to hold themselves in readiness on the shortest warning to proceed to such post on the South western frontier, or on such other western service as shall be ordered by the Executive or the officer who shall be appointed to take command of them. Be pleased to transmit your recommendation to the Executive in Williamsburg at the earliest opportunity you can, & also to report to them from time to time Your progress in raising your men.

COL. WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

April 15, 1780.

Sir,

InClosed I Send you a Copy of Coll. Armstrongs letter Sent to me the Contents there of is Very Allarming and if you see Cause You may Give orders Accordingly and Dietate therefrom As sutes you, allso I have Received a letter from Coll. Owens Desiring me to Send men up the River and to Disarm Capt. Ozburns Coxs and Swifts Companys, but this is so throng a time and the people so Buisey puting in thire Crops that it will be most Impossible to Get men to Go at present.

[N. B.] Extract of a letter from Col. Martin Armstrong to Col. Crockett.

Surry County, N Carolina, April 10, 1780.

Sir,

tho unacquainted makes free to Inform you of an Insurrection which in A Short time is to take place on the fronteers from Georgia to Virginia Colo. McDowell is my Author (towit) they have Raceived 20 horse load of Ammunition from the Cherokees Nation, and is to be Reinforced by 1500 of those blood thrusty Savages, the 25th of Aprile is the time they intend to Imbody besides this Intilegance from Cataba Mr. H. Benjamin Johnston of your County Informs me much the Same and exactly Carisponds with the former we are Imbodying here.



but the time of thire intended revolt is so near that I am afraid our friends near them Will be distressed before we have a Sufficent Number to repell them. pray Sir if possible lend us your Assistance. If we can suppress them before they can put their Bloody and inhuman barbarities in execution it will be the means of Saving the lives and property of many Worthy Citizens besides it is a Duty we owe God & our Country in this day of Distress. One Dolly on New river is one of thire head men and is lately come from Genl. Clinton. The scheme is deeply laid and nothing will do but to repell force by Force, and a providence has been ever kind to us in discovering thire most Secret Machenations in this which I hope will prove Downfall.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Goodwood, June 7, 1780.

Sir,

An Express from Colo. Bowman just now come to hand informs me that Lieut. Chaplain (who was taken prisioner when Colo. Roger was defeated) left the Huron Town on Sandusky the 28th of April, and got to the Falls of the Ohio ye. 19th of May. He informs that a Body of Regulars about 600 under Col. Butler of ye. Iroquois and upwards of 1000 Indians were on their way from the Lakes, with an intention to attack the Fort at the Falls of Ohio, and the other Western Posts belonging to this State over the Ohio. They are bringing Cannon with them, and are coming up the Myamis River and down Stoney River (or the Big Miame) Colo. Bowman has called for assistance from me of Men, Ammunition and Provision. Perhaps it may be best to send as much as possible of Mr. Bakers Stores out to their relief, but whether a sufficient Guard can be raised I am in a doubt. Would you think it advisable to Order a Company out of your County with two I shall Order from this, or could Colo. Crocketts Battallion march up in time? The young Man that brings the Express says the Enemy is expected about the middle of June. By circumstances I





judge it will be the last of the Month, or perhaps in July. The Kentucky settlements are in great consternation, and I understand publick management such as gives but little satisfaction. Please favor me with the return from Shenando or Mr. Madison as soon as an opportunity offers, in short advice from you on this occasion will be very acceptable as I am puzzled what to determine for the best. The fate of Charlestown I am afraid will encourage the Tors.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Goodwood, June 23, 1780.

Sir,

When I received Colo. Bowmans requisition for assistance, and a supply of Provision, and Ammunition, it was foreseen that may difficulties were in the way, but to make no effort I could neither reconcile it to my Duty or Feelings, I concluded that as Colo. Clark was to return to the Falls, it might be judged proper to send the most of the Supplys that was to be furnished by Mr. Baker, directly over Land to him. This Order I suspect by the return of the Express that went to the Governor, in the meantime I wished to have every other preparation for the March pushed forward, that we might be in readiness to set out as soon as the sense of the Executive was known.

Three Companies of Men are now in considerable forwardness to March, and from the present appearance will be full, and what Necessaries that is in my power to procure will be ready in a few days, but until Mr. Baker returns nothing can be rightly done expecting the drove of Cattle that I expect will be ordered out. What can keep the Man so long below I cannot divine. I have wrote Colo. Crockett and explained my plan to him. Fifty Pack Horses were directed to be purchased, and from a late Return of Mr. Irvines, the most of that number are obtained on Credit below the Price set in our Estimate, and none exceeding twelve Years Old. Some are obtained on hire, which I wish to make up to Fifty men. This



number I expect will do to carry out the Ammunition, and Meal sufficient for the Men out. This is the outlines of my proceedings. What you may judge right, or further necessary it will confer an obligation to communicate it.

Capt. May confirms the account of the heavy blow intended on the Western Country. Their Projects very well explain the ease we have had this way for sometime past; but should the Western Country be left to itself, and the Enemy prove successful, we may soon feel calamities their rage always inflicts. If intelligence I received not long since is well founded, the Enemy intends ere long to offer us peace on conditions each retains their Possessions. The beginning of the Campaign has opened unfavorably to us, and it would be an additional Humiliation to have a British Government established on the Ohio and Mississippi. I have omitted writing the Governor this opportunity, if there is anything you can advise, that you judge may be useful, the times seems to call for the assistance of every wise man in the State.

MAJOR THOMAS QUERK TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

June 23, 1780.

Dear Colonel,

I received your letter of the 22d Instant, and should be very ready, and willing to March to the Ohio with what few men I have under my Command, were they in condition for that very necessary Service. The whole of them, at the lead Mines amounts to no more than Two Sergeants, and Twenty nine private, and some of those not very fit for the Service, and all without either Arms or clothing and as it is almost impossible for those men to march in time to the Assistance of Kentucky, I will be very much obliged to you to represent the same to the Governor, and to act therein as you may think fit.





J. BRECKENRIDGE TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Fort Chiswell, June 25, 1780.

Dear Uncle,

Yesterday an Express sent you informing you that the Tories were about to rise up New River, & that they had killed some persons; The same accounts have since been brought to the Mines & confirmed, so that I believe there is no disputing the certainty of it. Yesterday there was one Husk came to the Mines who Captain Querk supposed to be a Spie & detained him. He informs them of a Body that is geathered up New River near the Glades; and also that the chief of his friends are with them, & of nine Light-Horsemen that were failed who attempted to take a parcel of Tories in Carolina.

There was also a Captain of the Militia taken by them of the name of Swift, who brings the same accounts, adding that there [were] a good many British officers among them but could not ascertain the number. All thire Accounts seem to alarm the People, very much and are chiefly believed. I make no doubt but, some of Your Neighbours will be very active upon this occasion. I am doubtful there is something astir among them now, as Saml. Ingram has been up in this Quarter & has just returned. The Express who was sent you, is a relation of James Bain & I suppose, will give them the news before he reaches you.

COL. JOHN TODD TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Richmond, [Va.], June 28, 1780.

Dear Colonel,

The Business of this is to request you to take the earliest oppourtunity of sending down to the Land office the Warrant on which my J. W. Smyth's Entry upon Lawrence Creek is founded in order to be exchanged. I will leave with Mr. Harvie Instructions upon this head.

As to news. Kentucky is divided into three Counties. Commissioners powers in certain Districts continued & Longer time



given to return certain Works to ye Office Many Local Acts passed—5000 Men to be draughted for the Continental Army. The Scheme of Congress gains proselites dayly & will be adopted I expect & the Lender Law repealed if not at present, it will be because policy judges it premature. Reason begins to reproach the Injustice of many Laws lately irreproachable. Pray, how goes Whig & Tory Interest about old prices? I fear you're unhappy in your Neighbours at present. Maj. Pozey is here. T. Bowyer was a few days ago quite hearty. he intends shortly visiting a Sweetheart he has in Hanover. he declares he is not yet forty.

Mr. Floyd's land is Safe enough.

JAMES MCGAVOCK TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Fort Chiswell, June 30, 1780.

Sir,

Last night I reed. Inteligence from a Person on whom I can depend, who gives me Information, that alarms me much & which I think if not properly guarded against will be followed by evil Consequences. He gives an Account of John Griffith being upon Walkers Creek encouraging the Tories & getting them in readiness; he has now left that place & gone to their place of Rendezvous at Ramsaws Mills; he is to be back however in about two weeks time in Company with a large body of Tories that are to come upon the Inhabitants of this place & to be joined by all those upon Walkers Creek. He has also promised that whoever would take some of the principal Men of this County, (and your Name & mine being particularly mentioned,) should be rewarded with a large number of Gunias. The Person who gave me this Information being affraid whilst Griffith was in the County to inform me of it, sent his wife last Night who gave me the above information. Colo. Campbell stopt here a few minutes this Morning, & to whom I was mentioning these particulars with some others; desired to let you [know] by the first Oppy., that by the Tories not moving any of their Property away & of many

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The text outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that the information is reliable and up-to-date.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of the proposed changes. It details the steps involved in the process, from the initial planning stage to the final execution. The document highlights the challenges faced during the implementation and provides strategies to overcome them. It also mentions the role of the management team in ensuring the successful completion of the project.

3. The third part of the document discusses the results of the implementation. It presents the data collected and analyzes the outcomes. The document shows that the proposed changes have been successfully implemented, leading to improved efficiency and productivity. It also mentions the feedback received from the staff and the management's response to it. The document concludes that the implementation of the proposed changes has been a positive experience for the organization.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the future of the organization. It outlines the goals and objectives for the next period and provides a roadmap for achieving them. The document mentions the need for continuous improvement and the role of the management team in ensuring the organization's long-term success. It also mentions the importance of maintaining accurate records and the role of the staff in this process.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the conclusion of the project. It summarizes the key findings and provides a final assessment of the project's success. The document mentions the need for further research and the role of the management team in ensuring the organization's future success. It also mentions the importance of maintaining accurate records and the role of the staff in this process.

Particulars he heard since he left your home; he has the greatest Reason to believe that the Tories will shortly be back, that it is his Opinion, if it is in your power to get more Assistance from the Neighbouring Counties it would be necessary that he is convinced they will make a vigorous Attempt to distress the People in this County. He promised he would immediately raise a hundred men & keep them in Readiness to march upon the shortest Notice, to our Assistance.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Camp in Baker Settlemt, July 3, 1780.

Sir,

Our militia have proceeded this far up New River in pursuit of the Insurgents under Roberts and I have here received certain intelligence of their being several days march a-head that we have given out hopes of overtaking them, besides the total defeat given at Ramzours Mill to their main army under Ferguson & Bryan the 22d of last month have given Genl. Rutherfords Militia so much leisure as I hope will enable them to intercept Roberts. We have picked up some of the party which I believe to be runaways after hearing of their disaster at ye Mill. I have sent parties 20 Miles further South Than this, and intend to send party, different routs on our return to disarm, distress and terrify the different settlements that have been the most active in joining and countenancing our enemies. By a letter from Genl. Rutherford to Colo. Cleveland it appears the English have called in all their outposts, broke up their main Camp near Camden, and retreated with precipitation towards Charlestown; a formidable French and Spanish Fleet having blocked up that Bay. The Prisoners, I have, or may take in this State I purpose to have sent to North Carolina those that may be taken in our own, to be confined at the Lead Mines. The property taken the Men insist on being sold for their benefit, but They have agreed to give the money up for the use of the State if so required by the Governor.

P. S.





By ye. Commissarys Book it appears, there was 1500 Tories at ye Mill the Morning of their defeat, our Men engaged was only 350 command by Col. M'Donal, The enemy lost their whole Camp 500 killed, and taken on the Spot many drowned in ye Mill-Pond, and 500 of GenL. Rutherford's Horse coming up toward the end of the action pursued them several Miles until They all dispersed, slaughtering all before them. This I trust will put an end to Toryism in this Country.

PETER KINDERS CONFESSION ON THE TORIES.

August 17, 1780.

He Said John Griffith listed him about twelve months ago, and he further Said that one James Dugglis was concerned Living on Cripple Creek, also one Brittin & Cox, & Martin [at] Wakers Creek also one Joseph McFarling on Rudy Creek, and The Said Kinder further Says that he poylated [piloted] the Said Griffith through the Brisshey mountain to Walkers Creek & He further Says that one Samuel Tomson on new River was concerned and also young Grisson was concerned on new River living neare the mouth of heart Creek and the Said Kinder further Says one Leonard Huff was concernd and further Said that one Griffith Lewis was concernd on the South fork of Holston River also that one ruband Oney on the Head of Clync in the Baptist valey is about to raise a company For the King or has Done it, and he further Says that one Leonard Huff told him that David Ross was a tory also that John Hook was —also the Said Kinder further Says that Leonard Huff told the Said Kinder that David Ross & John Hook had sent two men to the British Camps to see How they was agoing on—also that Roger Stats told him That George Forbush was in the Club—and also told him That Charles Detrick was one of the Club also that one Tom Gilleham was in the Club is know living on nolechenkey. The said Kinder further Says that one Nicholas Darter told him that he went through The Tory Camps when they was Embodying themselves at Ransawers Mill in North Carolina . . . also the said Kinder told that



the Said Griffith told him that one George Caggley was in the club, also one Andrew Vault on Cripple Creek. Kinder further Said that Cowly at John Baid's place told him that he had a warm Side to the English and Signified that the king would git the Cuntry and Griffith Said that Andrew Sidney on wolf Creek . . is ingaged in some Company under his Command Griffith further Says one Lambert on Wakers Creek was concern'd and that Richard Ward was concern'd in the club. Said Kinder Saith that Joshua Jones was in company with John Griffith at his house and that he Piloted them both over the Mountain to wakers Creek. Kinder further Saith that Griffith told him that William Clevings on holstons River was in Commission under the King.

COL. WILLIAM CHRISTIAN TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Mahanaim, August 30, 1780.

Sir Last week Col. W. Campbell sent a young Negro Fellow of his here. On Sunday he set off to go Home and in about three Hours, he returned and told us that near the Sinking Spring about four Men armed and one unarmed, all on Horseback came up with him & Said they must see what Letters he had & know his News; that one of them had been watching Col. Christians all Day on Saturday for him; that they would hang him as soon as they reached Peek Creek, where the rest of their Company were waiting that his Master injured them therefore they would destroy his Property wherever found, and kill himself & his Wife, and that they were then on their Way to his House. On the Information, I hurried up with Danl. & Stephen Trigg; we could not make no Discovery, we are not fully satisfied about the whole Story, but believe the Boy was frightened some how or other. He persists in his Story & I suppose will Scare his Mistress, from Home with it. if she has Confidence in the Boy's Integrity. Some Letters the Boy had were opened, & he says the Men read them, but on hearing some Waggon's approaching they rode off. The





Boy did meet the Waggons seemingly in a great fright & had the Letters in his Hand. He said the Men finding them on private Business, throwed them down.

Capt. Trigg has ordered a Man from his Company with the Boy; and I was supposing you would think it proper for the Satisfaction of Mr. Campbells Family, to direct some two trusty Men to his House, until his return. I have desired this Man to send this Letter by some Oppy. from Fort Chiswell or thereabouts, as I hear you are about the Mine.

The French Armament Arrived the 11 of July somewhere in the Jerseys; and Admiral Geaver the 13th with six British Ships of the Line. I have not heard the French Force. The lower Country have chiefly raised their Men, & are in good Spirits. I hear Col. Crockett is to march down this River directly, with four or five hundred Men.

One poor little Child still sick, having different Disorders.

WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. PRESTON.

October 2, 1780.

Dear Colonel,

I have try'd all in my power to raise the Militia of this County, but never saw them so backward before. I have got with great difficulty about one hundred and fifty including the two light horse Companies, which I have sent under the Command of Major Cloyd, and have repeated my Orders to the several delinquent Captains to meet me at the Lead Mine the ninth Instant with what number they can raise, them I shall March myself as far as possible and join Colo. Cleveland where he is incamped about Twelve miles on this side Wilks Court house. Major Cloyd has gone the same Route, an Express having arrived, that informed the Enemy was still at the Quaker Meadows, three men I sent to Colo. Cleveland. Express was fired upon at Fisher Gape, the men returned and are now with Major Cloyd.



WILLIAM DAVIDSON TO [COL. WILLIAM PRESTON?]

Camp Rocky River, October 10, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Pleasure of handing you very agreeable Intelligence from the west. Ferguson the great Partizan has miscarried. this we are assured of by Mr. Tate Brigade Major, in General Sumpter's late Brigade. The particulars from that Gentleman's Mouth stands thus;—That Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Williams, Brandon Lacy &c., formed a Conjoint Body, near Gilbert Town consisting of 3000. From this Body were selected 1600 good Horse, who immediately went in search of Colonel Ferguson, who was making his Way to Charlotte. our People overtook him well posted on King's Mountain and on the Evening of the 7th Instant at 4 o'clock, began the attack which lasted Forty seven minutes. Colonel Ferguson fell in the Action besides 150 Of his men. 810 were made Prisoners, including the British. 150 of the Prisoners are wounded. 1500 Stand of Arms fell into our Hands. Colonel Ferguson had about 1400 Men; our People surrounded them, and the Enemy Surrendered. We lost about 20 men among whom is Major Chronicle of Lincoln County—Colonel Williams is mortally wounded, the number of our Wounded cannot be ascertained. This Blow will certainly effect the British very considerably. The Designs of our Conquering Friends near King's Mountain not certainly known, it is most probable that they will secure their Prisoners in or over the mountains and proceed towards Charlotte. The Brigade Major who gives us this, was in the Action. The Above is true. The Blow is great, and I give you my Joy upon the Occasion.

CAPT. "PAT" LOCKHART TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Botetourt, December 5, 1780.

Sir,

On my Arrival at Surry Court House I was Informed by Col. Armstrong that Genl. Gates had ordered the British Pris-



oners to Hillsborough the Tories that refused to Inlist was ordered to Halifax to be Tried for Treason, but I was Informed by Mr. Blum at the Moravian Towns that they had Escaped from the Guards but of this I am not Certain, Genl. Gates is much Dissatisfied with Col. Armstrongs Proceedings & has Cited him to repair to Head Quarters to Answer for his Conduct By the best Intelligence I had Lord Cornwallis head Quarters was in the Fork of the Congaree, a garrison of Three Hundred Men left at Camden & Genl. Gates Some where near Charlotte Genl. Sumpter had lately worsted Tarltons Legion in Two Skirmishes Kill'd about One Hundred & Ten & made Several prisoners among the former was a Major Weems & Tarlton Dangerously Wounded, but Escaped. Capt. McLanachan & Barnett & Pawlin has applied for the Division of the Money Arising from the Sales of the Tories Effects due their Companies, but I am at Loss to know how to Settle it as I do not know whether we are to give any part to the Montgomery Militia or not. I was never informd anything about the Sales there or what was finally Concluded. I expect a Meeting at Court and a Sine to Col. Crockett, Capt. McLanachan or myself might enable us to Adjust the Matter.

COL. WILLIAM CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Aspin-Ville, December 12, 1780.

Sir,

A Letter from you, directed to Col. Arthur Campbell and myself, came to my House at a time when I happened to be from home. I am informed that in it you desire my Sentiments of Major Rowlands Appointment, to go with the Boteourt Volunteers to the Southward. I can assure you that I am perfectly satisfied with it; and I make no doubt but Colo. Arthur Campbell, will be so likewise; and as the Men are ready to march, the sooner he sets out with them, the better it will be, as the Weather is growing very cold and disagreeable. The Reports from the Cherokees have prevented our





making any Attempts in this County to raise Men for the Southern Service: I have heard nothing from them for a few days; and whether they will actually commence Hostilities upon us this Winter I cannot determine, but from any Circumstance, A war with them seems to me inevitable. They have already begun it in Georgia, in which the Raven Warrior had a part; and in the Treaty held there, this Country was given to that Tribe, if they would conquer it. I am told that the Raven has said he will come in here, and set down his foot, and that he will not take it away. I send you an Extract of a Letter I received the other Day from Colo. Clarke of Georgia, which will give you some Idea of the Cruelties the Tories and Indians have been guilty of in that State about the month of September last; and which, I expect was the principal Reason of Colonel Picken's & Major Buoy's coming to us at Gilbert Town, to request that no more small Parties of Soldiers might be sent into their Country; as it answered no other Purpose, than to draw upon our Friends in that Quarter, the Resentment of our Enemies.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COL. CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM  
PRESTON.

Major G. Christian's, December 15, 1780.

Sir,

By an Express I am inform'd that the trail of about 20 of the Enemy, was discovered yesterday 30 Miles below this, making up the River. This I conclude may be the advance to a large Body; consequently we will have fighting nearer home than the Towns. I am sorry and ashamed of the tardy preparation of our Militia for War. They must exert themselves or the Country will be subjected to great desolation. I hope you will hurry the Men down as well prepared with provisions as possible. The Country below the No. Fork abounds with Corn; consequently we need not Starve.



ANDREW PICKENS TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Sir, Camp Wilson, February 20, 1781.

Since I wrote you from the Moravian Towns the Enemy have stopt their progress towards Virginia and have bent their course as my information says towards Hillsborough. This makes it expedient that we should hurry all in our power that we may be able to harass their rear before they arrive to a place where they may be covered by their Shipping. I must therefore request you will march as rapidly as possible the nighest road to Hillsborough. I shall march this morning towards the place and will send you back any material intelligence I may receive but for God's sake don't delay.

ANDREW PICKENS TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

February 21, 1781.

Sir,

I have this moment received an express from General Greene he has recrossed Dan river and is in pursuit of the Enemy who are now in or nigh Hillsborough. He begs in the most pressing terms for your pushing on and mentions he is in the firmest hopes if we harass their rear there will few or none of them escape. If Colonel Campbell is not up with you do write him to leave his fort and busy on his Horse night and day till he gets up. General Greenes dependence lies greatly on the mountain men. I am sure you will not delay.

[P. S.] I have a party now by Hillsborough and expect every moment to hear of a smart skirmish. Again I beg you dont delay.

ANDREW PICKENS TO —————.

Camp Lynches, 10 miles from Hillsborough.

[February, 1781.]

Sir,

I received your Letter late last night and am happy to find you are so far advanced there never was greater need I must





request you will exert yourself all in your power and for Gods sake without delay. The Enemy lie at Hillsborough General Greene is in motion after them. I shall form a junction this morning with Colonel Lee. I have wrote Colonel Preston yesterday and beg if the Express comes in your way, you will forward it.

ANDREW PICKENS TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Old Moravian Town, March 10, 1781.

Sir,

I inclose a Letter I have wrote in General to the Inhabitants over the Mountains and hope it will meet your approbation. General Greene has ordered me to the Southward I can I trust be of some use though I am afraid I shall be too weak. It lies in your power to help us greatly by forwarding the plan. Your Zeal for the cause I am sure will make you do all in your power. It certainly is your Interest.

WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

May 17, 1781.

Sir,

I have once more attended at Roger [Oats?] to try if the men that was ordered to join General Greenes army would meet and go agreeable to orders, I waited there Tuesday and Wednesday and there was but Eighteen men and Three Capts Came, and when I saw there was know hoops [no hopes] of any more coming, I ordered them home. I was in hoops that there would meet at Least to the Amount of one Company which I would sent under the Command of Capt Love, there was No other officers there but the Capts Babbit and Swift and Neither of them fetched any men Except two or three out of Booth [both] Companies, and the two Capts seems to me that they never will cut any figuer in this world I mean as officers. Neither have I much hoops that they will in the world to come.



But let that be as Providence has aloted, if there is Nothing dun to force those disobedient people that Constantly disobeyed all orders, we may expect nothing else but our friends and best men will do the same, and be disobedient for the Futer. They seem exasperated against them to a man as fare as I have seen, and says that If there is not something don to make them obey orders for the futer they will be disobedient allso.

The Return that is made of the Strength of our Militia to the Governor and Council, Appears to be between Eight Hundred and a Thousand efective men, and we will allways be ordered to Send out men in preporticion to our Numbers, and if those orders is obeyed by our County it must, be don by about three Hundred and fifty or Four Hundred men at the most, which is two hard to be expected from men that is obliged to work and Raize thire Living out of the Ground which is the Case of the most part of our County men.

I give you Sir those hints that you may Conclider it, I Beg your pardon for being so bold, as I know you no better what ought to be don then I am [manuscript defective] direct You.

I have no more at present to Say but I am in Good health and is where there is Whiskey plenty to drink and A full bottle standing on the Table.

#### PETITION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF CLINCH.

[No date.]

TO WILLIAM PRESTON Esquire Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia in Montgomery County and To the Worshipfull Court Martial of the aforesaid County—  
THE PETITION of sundry inhabitants of the upper settlement of Clyncb River on the Frontier of said County of Montgomery HUMBLY SHEW

THAT whereas your Petitioners are summoned to attend the worshipfull Court martial on the [blank] day of [blank] to shew cause why they did not March on the late expedition against the British Army in North Carolina agreeable to Or-



ders; Beg leave to lay before your Worshipful Court the following reasons, Towit: That by their detached and exposed situation they are rendered liable at all times to an Invasion from the Savages who have never failed to visit some part of their Settlements the beginning of every Season for several years past, and thro' the mildness of the last Winter and present spring they might reasonably have been (and really were) expected for more than two Months past, and it now appears that such fears were but too well grounded, by the Mischiefs committed on or near Indian Creek, and also at Rye Coves and other places down Clyneh River and the Hour uncertain when the like mischiefs might have happened in our own Settlement. Thus detached as we are and placed in so dangerous a situation, the Ties of Nature and Humanity forbad the leaving of our Families, and the most dearest connexions we have upon Earth, thus exposed to the Mercy of the Cruel Savages, whose well known kind of Warfare are an indiscriminate destruction of all Ages and Sexes. This your Petitioners beg leave to represent as the true cause of their not marching as aforesaid and not thro' any contemptuous or inimical dispositions And altho many Idle reports have been circulated about to their prejudice which may have placed them in a Suspicious view. Yet we do Assure your Worships that these are not Facts but Calumnies That they are now and constantly have been true Citizens and are willing to risk their Lives and fortunes in the defence of their Country, wherein is everything they hold that is dear and valuable: But they wish to do it upon equal Terms with their fellow Citizens, and the like security for their families, which cannot be the case unless they are indulged with the privilege of not being Draughted from the Frontiers, and be thereby enabled to afford that protection to their families which their situation, renders impossible from the publick.

Nor can your Petitioners think that by their being exempted from Draughts they will be altogether useless to their Country, for it is well known that they have served as a Barrier of Defence to the inner settlements for several Years past,





and for the last two years have altogether defended themselves against frequent attacks of Indians without any assistance from the publick, and thro the frequent removals of late and other causes the present strength of the Settlement is so inconsiderable that Should the Indians attack them in such numbers as is too generally feared they will, the inhabitants must inevitably abandon their Homes & ruin thereby ensue. Under these peculiar hardships, Your Petitioners beg that they may not be subjugated to any Penalty for their not marching on the expedition aforesaid, and should any be already laid they pray that the Same be remitted. Your Petitioners farther beg leave to inform your Worships that they would have attended the Court martial individually, but the same dangers (which prevented their marching) being stil apparent, they thought it more prudent to address you by Petition, and as they have set forth nothing but Truths (which must generally be acknowledged) they flatter themselves that the Same will not be rejected. Therefore firmly relying on the Wisdom and Justness of your Worships that upon considering our precarious situation, the prayer of this their Humble Petition, we hope will be granted, and after repeating their inviolable attachment to their Country and the Common cause, they concluded (as in duty bound) for your Worships they will even Pray Ye

Tho. Witten Senr.

John Groom Jr.

Thomas Witten Jun.

Joseph Johnson.

Benjamin Josling.

Thomas Curie.

William meen.

Henry foley.

Enuz Johnson.

Daniel Johnson.

David Johnson.

Seth Johnson.

Richard Cavett.

Zecey Clary.

Jesse Gray.

William Butler.

Thomas ShoCkley.

Robert Worsham.

Beverly Miller.

Benjamin thomas.

John Peery.

Peter Edwards.

Joel Wegener.

Christy Hansly.

John Miller.

Peter Harman.



James Johnson.  
Michel Cavett.  
James Oveter.

Thomas Keef.  
Robert ray Burn.  
Wm. Maxwell.

Jeremiah Witten.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Charlottesville, Va., May 28, 1781.

Sir,

Lord Cornwallis from Carolina and a reinforcement of 2000 men from N. York having joined the hostile army which was before here & crossed James River renders it necessary for us to bring a very great force into the field. As I have reason to believe you have not sent the whole number ordered to the Southward by my Letter of Mar. 29, you will now be pleased to send under proper officers whatever number you were deficient to join immediately our army under Maj. Genl the Marquis Fayette. As it is uncertain whether he will retire northwardly or Westwardly I would advise that your men come by the way of Charlottesville should no movement of the enemy render that unsafe. You will be pleased to understand that the number you are now required to send, with those actually marched to the Southward are to make up 187, as formerly required. let every man who possibly can, come armed with a good rifle and those who cannot must bring a good smooth bore if they have it. They must expect to continue in the field two months from the time of their joining the army. Cavalry, in a due proportion being as necessary as infantry you will be pleased to permit and even to encourage one tenth part of those who are to come into duty as above required to mount and equip themselves as cavalry. they must not be received however unless their horse be usually good and fit for service. A short sword can be furnished them by the State, though if they can procure a proper one with other equipments themselves they had better do it their horses and accoutrements shall be ensured by the public against everything but their own negligence and they shall be their





own negligence and they shall be allowed forage for them in addition to their own pay & rations.

I need not urge you to the most instantaneous execution of these orders. Till the reinforcements now called for get into the field, the whole Country lies open to a most powerful army headed by the most active, enterprising & vindictive officer who has ever appeared in arms against us.

WILLIAM FLEMING TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Staunton, [Va.], June 12, 1781.

Sir,

Accompanying this you will receive an official Letter, requesting an Aid of Riflemen. Our situation is very critical at this time. Cornwallis so greatly outnumbering the Marquis in horse, although they are but raw men, great numbers of boys, and badly equipped. Yet they enable him to make sudden excursions and plunder the inhabitants at considerable distance from his main body to put the Marquis on a footing with Cornwallis by giving him as many riflemen as we can. On Monday last week Tarleton took possession of Charlottesville. The Assembly adjourned to this place, and last Monday a house of Deligates & Senate proceeded to business. Genl Nelson is appointed Governor. Col. Wm. Cabel, Saml McDowell & Wm. Hardie to the council, the vacancies to congress will be filled up to-day. Since I begun the above, the peculiar circumstances and situation of Your County and Washington have induced the members of Council to withdraw the requisition of men from either of them. Tarleton after his exploit at Charlottesville, in which he took the late Lt Governor Diggs, Col. Symne, and a soninlaw of Dr Walkers prisoners with some delegates amongst whome is Col. Boon & Swearingham from Kentucky, destroying a few public stores and considerable private property of a Mr. Norths, joined Symicoe who had a body of Infantry with his Cavalry and proceeded towards [?]folk, where we had a considerable quantity of Stores. with Baron Stuebin and a body of troops



the Baron, got the Stores over James River, but on an alarm marched off and some of them fell into the Enemies hands.

Cornwallis bent his whole force that way. General Waine Joined the Marquis last Saturday in Culpeper and immediately marched through Orange by the foot of the mountain to stop the Enemy, and gave an Opportunity to the riflemen to join him. As soon as he is in force we may expect that an action will ensue, the consequence doubtfull unless the Marquiss is strongly reinforced. The news of our sweep to the Southward gains ground here. I shall not add anything more.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO COL. WALTER CROCKETT.

July 2, 1781.

Sir,

On application to the Governour and Council they have agreed that the militia of Montgomery be divided into two Battalions the command of the first Battalion therefore falls upon Col. Ingles *you* & the Second on Col. Crockett *yourself*.

By a Letter from his excellency the Governor dated the 29th of last month it appears that L. Cornwallis with his Army has formed a Junction with the other british troops in this State which makes it necessary to call on the several Counties for assistance, & has therefore made a possitive demand from this County of the 187 men properly officered, that were to be sent to Join General Greene. These troops are now required to march down the Country by the way of Charlottesville with all imaginable Speed and to continue two months on Duty after they arrive at the Head Quarters, in this State. or receive the Orders of the commander in Chief of our Troops where to act during that Time, each man to be armed with a Rifle or good Smooth bore; and every tenth man to be mounted on a good Horse to act as Cavalry with such accoutrements as he can procure, if Swords cannot be had they will be supplied below; That Pay Rations & Forage will be allowed **and if the horses be lost, except by negligence, they will be paid for.**



In consequence of this Requisition, I must therefore Request of you to give immediate and pressing Orders to all the Officers in your Batallion, except Maxwells and Inglis's Moors, Pearis's & Lucas's Companies to draught every fifth man agreeable to my Orders of the 9th of April Last at Sam'l. Thompson's that those who were then Ordered to Carolina and failed to go may perform their Tour of Duty in this State. That proper Officers be appointed, also a Commissary, & that they meet at Hands Meadows on [blank] the Day of this Instant fully equipt & ready to March from thence with all Possible Expedition.

I beg leave to give you an exact Copy of the last paragraph of the Governors Letter. "I need not urge you to the most instantaneous execution of these Orders. Till the reinforcements now called for get into the field, the whole Country lies open to a powerful Army headed by the most active, enterprizing, and Vindictive Officer who has ever appeared in Arms against us."

In addition hereto I can only beg of you for Heaven's Sake to spare no pains, but use every possible Exertion to raise these men by the time appointed. The Draught for the Continental Service being put off and the Men indulged to Serve in their own State will I hope prevail on them to turn out on the present important Occasion with Cheerfulness.

COL. WILLIAM DAVIES TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

War office, Richmond, Va..

July 15, 1781.

Sir,

Agreeably to the mode of issuing military orders from government, as directed by the last Session of Assembly, I have the honor to inform you that from the present situation of affairs to the Southward, it is judged necessary that you immediately put into motion one-seventh part of your militia, properly officered, armed and equipt, and direct them by the nearest route to join the army under General Greene. The





present period is a time of exertion, and as the British are putting forth their whole power to have the appearance of large possession and great conquests in this Country, against the approaching conferences for a peace, there cannot be a doubt of the same animation on our parts to confine their pretensions to very narrow limits.

I beg the favor of a return of the strength of your militia, and of the clothing collected, which I request may be put in the hands of the nearest quartermaster who will forward them.

COL. WILLIAM DAVIES TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

War office, [Richmond, Va.], July 17th, 1781.

Sir,

I had the honor to communicate to you two days ago an order from the Executive requiring that one-seventh part of your militia Should be put in motion to proceed to the Support of General Greene. Since that time government have judged it expedient to enlarge the number called for. I have it therefore in command from his Excellency the Governor in council to require from your county one-fourth part of the militia properly officered, armed and equipt to march to join the Southern army, and to Serve their term of two months, to be computed from the time of their joining it.

Government makes these calls with great reluctance, but the importance of the occasion, and the consequences which may attend at the negotiations for peace, Should Stimulate to every exertion. The men destined for the Southward are not to wait till the previous return of those with the Marquis, who will be discharged without a relief as soon as their two months are out. The law, I understand, has, by an act of the last Session made a difference between the pay of those Serving in the State and those that march out of it; The former being paid from the time of joining the army only, but the latter from the time their march begins. I hope this will be some encouragement.



## GOV. THOMAS NELSON TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Richmond, July 19, 1781.

Sir,

The great superiority of the Enemy to the Southward making it necessary to send a Reinforcement to Gen. Greene, Col. Davies the commissioner of the War Office has orders from the Executive to write to the Lieutenants of the different Counties that are to send the Reinforcement. I cannot however forbear requesting that you will interest yourself in a very particular manner with the militia of your County whose tour it may be to go on this Service. Vigorous exertion this campaign will insure to America what she has been contending for. Our affairs in that Quarter look with a pleasing aspect. General Greene has nearly recovered the Southern States, and only wants proper Support to finish the campaign with that glory which his extraordinary conduct & unparalleled perseverance merits.

## COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO GOV. THOMAS NELSON.

Montgomery, [Va.], March 15, 1782.

Sir,

A Letter from Colo. Davies Commissioner of the War Office dated the 30th of Jany. came to hand about the 15th of Feby. making a Requisition of the men raised in this County under an Act of Assembly passed in Octr. 1780 for raising this States Quota to same in the Continental Army.

In April 1781 I had the County laid off into districts agreeable to that Law & by the first of August the Thirty Eight men called for from this County were either Recruited or draughted. The Commissioners of the Tax not having Money to pay the Bounty, the Recruits got Furloughs and the Execution of the Act being suspended the Business remained so untill the Rect. of the above Letter. As many as had not deserted were called together, but as they had not received their Bounty I could not have them marched. I then moved the Court,





in presence of two of the Commissioners, to levey a Sum in Specie for that Purpose but the motion was rejected as you will see by the Copy. The Recruits got Furloughs a second time untill I can receive Your Excellency's Instructions herein, which I earnestly beg, as I am altogether at a loss what further steps to take in this matter. I have with much trouble and fatigue endeavoured to carry the Act into Execution, and I am apprehensive to little purpose as there is reason to doubt that most of the Men will desert before anything effectual can be done. I would beg leave to lay before Your Excellency a Recommendation to field Officers in one of the Battalions, which was occasioned by the Resignation of Colo. Ingles whose Infirmities prevented him from Serving longer. I would also entreat Your Excellency and the Honble. the Council to take into consideration the Accommodation of proper Persons to be added to the Commission of the Peace. Such an addition will be extremely useful for keeping good Order in this frontier County to which many disorderly People Resort from different parts of this State as well as the Southern States.

I would be much obliged to your Excellency to direct the Commr. of the war Office to supply me with twenty blank Commissions for Militia Officers, as those he sent me in Jany. are mostly given out.

COL. SAMPSON MATHEWS TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Richmond, [Va.], May 5, 1782.

Dear Sir,

Your Several favours of the 26th Ultio. Together with Colo. Walter Crocketts was Laid before the Council Board yesterday.

My Particular acquaintance with you, Induced the Board To give you unlimited Powers for the Defence of your County, but Should the Incursions of the Indians Continu, which is Likely to be the Case, It will be Necessary To Reduce the Plan of Defence To a Regular System.

I Should therefore be Extremely glad of your Advice on that



Subject. In the first Place, as the County of greenbryer is a frontier, & is Included, it will be Necessary To Relieve the militia of that County by Draughts from others. I think Botetourt & Rockbridge, as being most Convenient, will answer best. & as your County & Washington is Likewise frontiers, Kentucky being to Distant, will Campbell and Henry answer for Relief. I know that Botetourt & Rockbridge is To great Proportion, perhaps halfe Botetourt ought to be To yr. Relief. Pray be so Kind as to Send a Plan of the Country & your opinion as Soon as possible, you Need Not Take much Pains about the Plan.

[P. S.], In your Plan of the Country (I wish you to Include greenbryar, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington Henry & Campbell) I wish you to Distinguish the Differant Posts in yr. County & Washington & the Number of men that will be Necessary to garrison Each Post. Will is Suit to ad Bedford & Pitsylvania?

ARTHUR CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

June 17, 1782.

Sir,

A Proposition was made to the Executive to establish a Post on Sandy River for the protection of the Counties of Montgomery & Washington, the final adoption of which is referred to a Council of Field Officers.

Colo. Davies letter which accompanys this was wrote in order to give you an early opportunity to fix the time and place for the Officers to assemble.

By Mr. Thomas Madison or a person sent Express you may expect to receive a full state of the matter in a few days.

Please let me know the time and place you wish the meet- ing to be that I may have an opportunity of notifying the officers of Washington thereof.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS AT FORT  
CHISWELL.

Montgomery Courthouse, July 2, 1782.

At a meeting of the Field Officers of the Militia of Montgomery and Washington Counties in conformity to instructions received from His Excellency The Governor bearing date 15th day of June last; to concert and settle some proper Plan for the defence of both Counties.

Present

William Preston  
Walter Crockett  
Joseph Cloyd  
Daniel Trigg  
John Taylor &  
Abraham Trigg

} Field Officers for Mont-  
gomery County.

Arthur Campbell  
William Edmondson  
Aaron Lewis  
James Dysart  
and

} Field Officers of Wash-  
ington County.

Major Patrick Lockhart, } District Commissioner.

It is the unanimous Opinion of the Board of Officers

That the 200 Men permitted to be drawn out, by his Excellency The Governor, for the defence of the frontier, be disposed of into the following Districts viz.

On New River in the Neighborhood of Capt. Pearis 30 Men. Sugar Run 20, Capt. Moorehead of Blue Stone 25, Head of Clinch 25 Men. In Washington at Richlands 20, Castle Woods 30, Rye Cove 20, Powells Valley 30 Men. The extent of the different Districts. From Capt. Pearis to Sugar-run 10 Miles to Capt. Moorehead's of Blue Stone 30, to Capt. Maxwells





Head of Clinch 16 Miles, which is nearest The Washington line. To Richlands 24, to Castle Woods 30, to Rye Cove 25, to Powells Valley 26 Miles. in all 164 Miles.

We find the greatest difficulty in making any Provision for the Support of those Men while on Duty as there is no Specific Tax brought into the places appointed for That purpose in either of the Counties. The Officers have therefore recommended it to Major Lockhart the District Commissioner to purchase 200 Bushels of Corn in Montgomery County at the most convenient places to where the militia are to do Duty at three Shillings per Bushel being the Current Prices there, which we are convinced will be a great saving to the State as the Transportation of Grain from Botetourt, where there is some belonging to the Public on hand, to the several Districts where the Militia are to do duty will be attended with a very great Expence the Distance being from Sixty to One hundred and Sixty Miles. To procure what further supplies of Provisions that may be necessary it is to be an instruction to the Commissioner of the District, to instruct the different County Commissioners and Commissaries of Specifics to deliver or facilitate the delivery of Provisions to a Commissary of the Troops for each County to be appointed for that purpose or to the order of the Commanding officers. To which may be added a Warrant to each Commissary to impress agreeable to the Invasion Law.

As objections have been made to that part of the Governors instructions ordering the direction of the Militia of both Counties, while on duty, under that of the County Lieutenant of Montgomery who lives upwards of 180 Miles from Powells Valley and not less than 90 miles from the Richland District in Washington which renders it impossible and useless for him to have these men under his direction for which reason he declines that part of the Command. Let it Therefore be humbly recommended to his Excellency the Governor to alter that part of his orders by giving the Superintendence of the Troops in each County to the Commanding Officers of the same, as it will save the expence of a Field-officer being on Duty which



otherwise would be necessary; and the Defence of the frontiers will in all probability be better conducted.

The Board of Officers are unanimously of Opinion that the Counties of Montgomery and Washington will provide the Number of men ordered for their Defence without calling on any of the neighbouring Counties for Assistance unless there is a real occasion to do so on some Emergency; or on the approach of a large Body of the Enemy.

They also beg leave to suggest that the usual manner the Indians conduct their Attack on our Settlements makes it necessary that a proper number of Scouts be employed in each District to discover their approaches, for which reason it has induced the Officers to direct that two be employed in each District, for the immediate safety of the Inhabitants.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO COLONELS CROCKETT AND CLOYD.

Fort Chiswell, July 3, 1782.

Sir

The Board of Officers appointed to meet at this Place have directed that a Company of Militia be raised immediately and sent to the Frontiers of this County & to be Stationed in the following Manner to wit at Capt. Maxwells twenty five men & an equal number at Capt. Moores.

In consequence of this resolution you will please to appoint an Active discreet Captain, to take the Command of this Company as also two Lieutenants and an Ensign. The Captain & Ensign to command at Maxwells & the two Lieuts. at the other place. These men are to continue ranging the Woods as much as in their Power. Two Scouts or Spies are to be sent from each of these Districts & to be under the Direction of the officers at the respective Stations.

You will Please to instruct the Officers to be very alert & active in their Duty, to keep up good Discipline amongst their men and to be extremely careful to keep exact accounts of the receiving & issuing provisions & that the greatest Economy be used as well as with regard to Provision as ammunition.





This Company must be raised & kept out of the upper Battalion by Drafts or Enlistment untill the middle of October; I would earnestly recommend it you to endeavour to have the men engaged for the whole time as it will save a great Expence to the State and better answer the Purpose of defending the Frontiers.

I beg that no time may [be] lost in carrying this Business into Execution as the safety of the Numbers depends upon it. If anything extraordinary happen in those Districts be pleased to inform me thereof. Should you be informed of the Approach of a large Body of the Enemy you will please to take the most prudent hasty Steps to repell them. The Field officers & Captains in your Batallion are hereby required to give you every possible Assistance in Executing these Orders.

Gov. BENJAMIN HARRISON TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

In Council, [Richmond, Va.], July 23, 1782.

Sir,

I thank you for the trouble you have taken in calling together the Officers of your County and Washington and regulating the Militia ordered for their defence. The Plan is approved & I hope will answer my expectations & keep the Counties free from the inroads of the Indians.

It is some surprise to me that Colo. Campbell should object to the Militia of both Counties being under your Command, the proposal came from himself that one person should command but nothing less than his being the Man would content him. I shall write to him directing him to conform to the arrangements.

WILLIAM DAVIES TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

War office, [Richmond, Va.], August 18, 1782.

Sir,

I have never had a certain oppourtunity of acknowledging your favor of the 6th of last month, for which I am thankful to you.



His Excellency informs me he has himself Signified to you his approbation of the measures you have concerted with the advice of the field officers of your county and Washington, and is satisfied with the propriety of your observations for declining the superintending in both.

I am Sensible of the differences which will unavoidably occur in this business, but would observe to you that many of these difficulties arise in many cases from the real misconduct of the public agents. You represent, and I am sure with justice, that transportation will be hardly accomplished for want of public horses. I must inform you, however, that a certain Evan Baker of Washington was largely entrusted by government with the purchase of a great number of horses and other things for the western defence, but that man has never yet been brought to account, tho' various applications have been made to him, and tho' there is great reason to believe he retains many of these Stores in his possession, or applied them to his own advantage. I must request the aid of your influence to bring this man forward a little, that he may settle his account of the distribution of horses and so forth, with Major Lockhart. I have been told a large number of horses were also purchased by Mr. Madison. Possibly he may have several by him yet.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO THE FIELD OFFICERS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

August 24, 1782.

Sirs,

The act of Assembly for recruiting this States Quota of Men is Just come to hand. In consequence of which I have appointed all the field Officers & Captains or the Commanding Officers of Companies to meet at the Court House of this County on monday the 15th Day of September that the Said Act may be put immediately into Execution. You are hereby required with a fair and Just List of your whole Company from Sixteen years of Age to fifty, making a Distinction of such as are



under eighteen years. You are to give your Company Notice that they are to be laid off in Classes or Districts of fifteen men each, that Such who have any Infirmity of Body and are not exempted may attend a Court Martial who will meet at that Time for that, as well as other purposes.

You are also to make return of what Beeves & Cloaths your Company hath furnished under a late Act of the Assembly, which must by no means be omitted, as has been hitherto the case altho often required.

You are likewise Required to bring with you a list of all the men your Company has furnished for the Army either by Draughts or Enlistments since the Spring of the year 1777. If you do not of your own knowledge have the number of men or their Names you will take the best Information you can get in the Company, not omitting such as deserted.

You will please to observe that there is a fine of £20 on each officer who fails to appear as above directed, to be recovered by Information to the Court, in a Summary Way. But I hope a Sense of our Duty to the Country will induce every Officer to attend with Cheerfulness, and give all the Assistance we can to carry this necessary Act into Execution.

WILLIAM DAVIES TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

War Office, [Richmond, Va.], October 12, 1782.

Sir,

I am directed by his Excellency in Council to communicate to you the resolution of the Executive that Three hundred men from the Counties of Washington, Montgomery and Bote-tourt in proportion to their numbers be subjected to the orders of General Clark, should there be any farther necessity during the Fall of ordering out Militia for the purpose of protecting the Inhabitants in the exterior western Frontier. I have not received any late returns of the strength of the Militia in most of the Counties thro' the State which I have Some reason to complain of, as it is positively directed by law, & subjects me to great difficulty in doing justice to the Several counties thro'





the State. However from the returns I have, I must ascertain the proportions, you will therefore be pleased to order from your County Ninety Six men properly Officered. The County of Washington having the largest Militia, it will be proper that a Field Officer from that County should have the command of the whole.

[P. S.] "Since sealing this Government have determined that Sixty four men properly Officered will be a sufficient number from Montgomery."

WALTER CROCKETT TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Fort Chiswell, November 9, 1782.

Sir,

The Officers & Men that were ordered out on the Tour to Clinch have all returned Home again, and say that there were but Ten or Twelve that met at the place appointed & Many of them without Arms. All the Others that were ordered never moved from Home. The principal reason that they render for their not Proceeding is that there was no Salt & that they would not go there to live three Weeks on fresh Provision. I would thank you for your advice in the matter, as I am at a loss to know how to Proceed therein.

This Bearer Henry Kiesler will be the only speedy hand to bring, any thing you write on the Subject.

P. S. Kiesler will also carry a Bushell of Salt if there be any, for the use of the Men.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

Ratliffs Marsh, November 26th, 1782.

Dear Sir—

I have Sent you by leonard Straw the Ballance of the Money for my District which is three Shillings and Nine pence Except for John Stelford  $1/3$  and Adam Britton  $1/3$  on Account of there not Being Not any of that name in this part of the Country the Money I have Sent is for Michl. Knave  $2/6$  and



Michael Katring 1/3. I Sent by Straw a Dollar and You can take the Money out of it and return him the Ballance.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO WILLIAM DAVIES.

Montgomery, December 19, 1782.

Sir,

Yours of the 8th of November came to hand the 25th of that month while I was on a Journey to Botetourt where I was necessarily detained two weeks, and not finding any conveyance from there, nor since I returned till this Day by Mr. Granville Smith I could not therefore make the return you requested.

Enclosed you have Lieut. Rhea's receipt for £95 . 18 . 4 . Since the date thereof I have recd. [blank] which I have by me. I cannot Say what success Mr. Rhea has had in recruiting since the 6th of November last when we parted. Before that I know he was very industrious in the business but without Success. A few Days ago I enlisted one man and sent him to Mr. Rhea in Washington. I paid him forty Dollars by way of security that he would not desert.

Several of the Collectors have been defient in making their Returns & I have given them notice that I shall move the Court for a Judgement against them; but as there will probably be no Court before march I dont think it will be in my power to close this very troublesome business before then. In the meantime I shall urge them to a settlement all I can.

GOVERNOR BENJAMIN HARRISON TO COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

In Council, [Richmond, Va.], April 1, 1783.

Sir,

Be pleased to pay to Major Patrick Lockhart the ballance of the recruiting money in your hands received under the Act of Assembly intituled "An Act for recruiting this States quota of Troops to Serve in the Army of the United States." You will also settle the Acct. with him that it may be brought





down to the Auditors Office & finally closed; If any ballance should yet remain due from the Collectors in the County it must be immediately called in, and on refusal of payment you are hereby required to inforce the Law. It will be necessary that you deliver any Receipts you have taken for money paid the recruiting Officer to Major Lockhart who will give you his receipt for them, which Shall fully exculpate you from any future charge for their amounts. You will readily see that without these receipts a final settlement cannot be made with the Officers.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON TO HIS NEIGHBOURS.

[No date].

Gentlemen & Neighbours,

About three weeks ago Information was made to me that a Number of People, dissaffected to the present Government of Virginia, intended to make an Attack on my House and take the Country Arms deposited with me at all Events. Upon receiving this dissagreeable Intelligence I resolved to deal with you in the most Candid and open Manner I was capable of, by calling several Heads of Families, whom I have long respected, together and opening the whole Intelligence I had received to them in the most neighbourly manner. I did so, and you gave me the strongest Assurance that there was nothing intended by you to disturb the tranquility of the State or to injure me either in my Family or Reputation. I parted Satisfied as to this Article; but I must confess the Information of a Person being in the Neighbourhood, who had, or was Said, to propose to administer the Oath of Allegiance to the King of great Britain, and The meeting of the People from different Companies & under various Pretences was by no means cleared up at our meeting. However I rested Satisfied for a Time untill some further Light could be thrown on this mysterious affair.

Since that Time I have been informed that a Bloody and Murderous Company was discovered in a different part of the



County, which was almost ripe for Execution; that a Party of men were sent out and some of the Conspirators taken part of whom are yet in Confinement and the greatest part admitted to Bail. That my Life & that of my numerous Family have been threatened as the first Objects of their Cruelty & Rage. That many People in their Part of the County were connected with them with many other Things that I will not now enumerate.

When we parted at Mr. Shulls, I think we agreed solemnly, that should any Information or Reports be carried to either Party of the other relative to this matter that the Party to whom they were carried should give notice to the other whose Business it should be to clear them up and remove any Obstacles that might be in the way to our good Neighbourhood and Social Intercourse. In strict compliance with this Agreement I would now tell you that many Reports have been made to me since with regard to Your Conduct both before and after our last meeting, which I am ready to communicate to you if you chuse to hear them from my Mouth. These Reports in general are contrary to the Proffession then made & tends to Disturb the Peace of the State of which you are Inhabitants. I do not assent they are all true & therefore it is your Business & let me say, Duty to clear them up and disprove them. for which reason I would request of all to whom this Letter is directed or a Majority of them to come to my House & let this matter be coolly and deliberately talked over in a Neighbourly manner that the Doubt may be removed and Assurance given against any such for the future. This you may perhaps look upon as troublesome for a Number to come to One, but you may remember on the last Occasion I went to You & the returning the Compliment of coming here is no more than paying a Just & a Neighbourly Debt. As I went unarmed amongst you when Reports run high, I expect you will come here in the same manner And lest you should have the most distant distrust that I have any Intentions to betray you in any manner whatever, I do hereby Pawn my Honour, my Life and everything that is, or ought to be, dear and Sacred



to an honest man that you shall not be Disturbed coming, returning or while you are here, & that I shall treat you Collectively with that same Respect & good manner I ever did any one of you Singly. I am confident I might have saved myself the trouble of writing, and you of reading, this Declaration, as I believe you all know me too well to think me capable of doing a thing so ungenerous, especially when you reflect that I am raising my Family amongst you, that they have shared the common Danger & that I have laboured incessantly for several years, in all my Troubles, without Reward for the Protection of all against a Savage Enemy; and give me leave to add, what I mentioned at our last meeting, that my lenity to those who refused to acknowledge their Allegiance to the State, and which arose in me from a hatred of Persecution, has subjected my Character to the Tongues of the Malions, as an Enemy to the Liberties of my Country. I say, when you duly consider these things and give them their proper weight, you cant have a single doubt of my attempting any thing to ensnare you & I shall allways expect the same open & generous treatment for you either together or separate.

As my private Affairs calls me shortly to Botetourt Court House, I would be glad you would comply herewith at any time in three or four Days from the Date.

I would just beg leave to add, That I hope no Person will be so ill natured as to say, or believe, that this application arises from any mean, low Motive as fear or the like. I am not Conscious of any such motive, & I solemnly Protest that I have nothing further in view; than an endeavour to remove Doubts and to lay a lasting foundation for Social Intercourse and Confidence amongst Neighbours, & to prevent rash or hasty Measures by either Party which are generally attended with bad Consequences. In saying this I lay my Hand on my Heart and call the Supreme Being to be a witness to the truth of it, and to the Rectitude of my Intentions untill Self Defence makes other Measures necessary which I hope will never be the case.





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WILLIAM ANDREW SMITH, D. D.

J. R. Spann, A. B.

Dr. William Andrew Smith's genealogy cannot be traced beyond his parents. His father, William Smith, came from England to the western part of Orange county, Virginia, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, where he resided until a short time before 1800, when he went to Fredericksburg, Virginia. Here he engaged in an extensive mercantile business and West India trade. Between 1810 and 1812 he retired from business, intending to enjoy his accumulated fortune, and returned to his former home in Orange county. He appointed a Mr. Lipscomb and a Mr. Alcock his business agents and guardians of his motherless children, while he went to the West Indies to wind up his business there. Sometime during the year 1813 he returned to America and met Messrs. Lipscomb and Alcock at the Columbus Inn, of Fredericksburg, to receive an account of their stewardship. The three dined together late one evening: the next morning Mr. Smith was found dead in his hotel room, and his children were left penniless by the treacherous absconders. Mr. Lipscomb made a death-bed confession many years later, when retribution was impossible.

While Jefferson's embargo laws were in operation, William Smith was roughly handled by some zealous supporters of the





law for a supposed violation and for trading under a British license. However, the officers of the law took no notice of the matter. He was a Free Mason, but not a church member. His "honorable character and integrity" were never called in question, according to affidavits of acquaintances who were living in 1849.

Dr. Smith's mother was Miss Mary Porter, of one of the most respected families of Orange county. She was a very devout Christian and a member of the Methodist Church. Dr. Smith attributed his call to the Christian ministry to the fervent prayers of his mother during her last illness, in 1804, when he was only two years old.

William Andrew Smith was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, November 29, 1802. After the death of his father he was bound to a gentleman of Orange county to learn a trade. But as soon as a friend of his father's, Mr. Russell Hill, a merchant of Petersburg, Virginia, learned of William's misfortune, he purchased his release and adopted him into his own family, where he was given the advantages of a good English education at a school in Petersburg.

Dr. Smith's schoolmates represented him as being a bold, frank, impetuous boy; kindly and agreeable, yet always ready to reprove an injustice to himself or comrades.

He quit school for employment in his benefactor's store, where he remained for several years.

While undertaking to teach a Sunday-school class in the Methodist Church, he was led to religious investigation, which resulted in his conversion, at the age of seventeen. He felt that he was called of God to the Christian ministry, and earnestly desired to attend William and Mary College further to equip himself for his life's work. But lack of funds forced him to accept a year of private study in the home of his uncle, John Porter, of Orange county, as a substitute for a college training. He then taught school two or three years in Madison county, Virginia, at the same time continuing his private studies. At a district conference held in Charlottesville, Virginia, in the James River District, November 20, 1823, William



A. Smith, having produced a recommendation from a quarterly conference held in Culpeper Circuit for a license to preach as a local preacher, was properly licensed. In 1824 he traveled the Gloucester Circuit under a presiding elder. Dr. Smith's first efforts to preach were reported failures; but by persistent effort he rapidly rose in eminence, until in 1849 Judge P. P. Barbour pronounced him "the greatest pulpit orator that he had ever heard."

The Virginia Annual Conference of 1825 "admitted him into the Conference on trial" and located him on the Gloucester Circuit. The following year he "remained on trial," and was moved to Amherst. In 1827 the Annual Conference received him into full connection, ordained him deacon and located him in Petersburg, where he had to endure the severe ordeal as a young, inexperienced preacher, of serving the people who had recently known him as a boy. But he immediately commanded the respect of the community and served the church with unusual success and ability. The next year he was sent to Lynchburg, but in 1829 he was returned to Petersburg after being elected and ordained elder. The following year he was moved to Trinity Church, Richmond, where he remained one year before being sent to Norfolk for two consecutive years. In 1833 his pastoral work was interrupted, by his being assigned the task of raising money for Randolph-Macon College, which was just opening its doors to students. But the following year he returned to his former pastoral work at Norfolk, where he remained until 1836, when he was sent back to Trinity Church, Richmond, for two years, during which time he dedicated a new church there.

The "Virginia Conference Sentinel" appeared in 1836, published by W. A. Smith, M. Brock and J. Early. They applied the profits of the publication "to the support of the deficient, superannuated and supernumerary members of the Virginia Annual Conference and their families and to the widows and orphans of preachers."

In 1838 Dr. Smith was transferred to Manchester for a year before being returned to Lynchburg, where he served until



1841. His seventeenth appointment by the Virginia Conference was to serve his home people in Petersburg, again, before returning to his favorite charge in Norfolk for two more consecutive years. June 10, 1843, the Board of Trustees of Randolph-Macon College conferred the honorary degree of D. D. upon him. In 1844 and 1845 Dr. Smith was pastor in Lynchburg for the third time. In 1846 he was transferred from the pastorate to the presidency of Randolph-Macon College, where his untiring energy determined its history for the next twenty years.

Contemporaries, without exception, speak of Dr. Smith as a pastor and preacher in extravagant terms. One called him "a prince in the pulpit"; another "the greatest preacher of his age." But no better account could be recorded of this feature of Dr. Smith's life than that of Bishop Granbery, who, with his father, was converted under Dr. Smith's ministry. He said: "The young preacher was noble in form and face, vigorous and agile in body, frank, fearless and enterprising in spirit, dignified and thoughtful in manner. The first glance revealed to the observer manly strength. He was a hard student, an earnest thinker, a Christian philosopher; yet not a recluse, but a man of action and of influence with the people. He was always revolving some grand theme in his mind—a habit which sometimes gave him an air of abstraction in company and on the street. He was mighty in the Scriptures, to expound, defend, and enforce. His sermons were able discussions of the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, full of instructive matter and reasoning, yet luminous and forcible. It was impossible not to understand him, well-nigh impossible not to be convinced. He was more of a logician than an orator, yet his logic was not old and dry, but steeped in emotion and aglow with zeal. He was truly eloquent; was not sparkling, but weighty, not imaginative, but argumentative; not hortatory, but didactic and convincing. His discourses were not easily forgotten; the train of thought remained in the mind of the hearer long after the voice of the speaker died upon the ear. As pastor he threw his whole mind and soul—a strong mind





and a large soul—into his duties. He knew how to kindle the zeal of the church, arouse the community, instruct the inquirer, guide and help a tender and troubled conscience, comfort the feeble-minded, and inspire with hope the despondent. The afflicted of his flock found him far more sympathetic than the public supposed, for in that strong frame was a tender heart. His ministry was blessed with powerful revivals. He was judicious in conducting them, and no man exceeded him in untiring diligence and fidelity. A long list of ministers, of our own and other churches, not a few eminent, acknowledge him as their spiritual father."

The "Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, to incorporate the Trustees of Randolph-Macon College," which became a law February 3, 1830, named W. A. Smith as one of the Trustees. At the first meeting of this newly incorporated body, held in Boydton, Virginia, April 9th, 1830, he was made the first Secretary of the Board of Trustees. Immediately he entered upon the task of establishing a college of academic learning for the Virginia and North Carolina Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. No doubt Dr. Smith would have continued to act as Financial Agent for the infant college, when appointed in 1833, long enough to have secured the needed funds for endowment and equipment, had not a serious accident befallen him a few months after entering his new work. While returning from a camp meeting in Louisa county, Virginia, his interest in the conversation on the rear seat of the carriage led him to neglect his driving, with the result that the carriage was upset by running over a stump. He was caught beneath the vehicle and dragged for some distance, thereby sustaining a broken thigh and a dislocated hip, which resulted in a painful and protracted confinement to his bed and a serious lameness for life. But his powerful physique and marvelous energy never allowed his infirmity to appear a handicap. When feebleness of age added to his physical disabilities he would often lecture and preach while sitting, but without loss of ardor or effectiveness. Some accounted for his failure to be made Bishop by this physical impediment.



In 1846 the need of finances, the decreased enrollment, and dissension among the students and the faculty led President Garland to resign and many to despair of the success of Randolph-Macon College. But the Trustees, and the Virginia Conference at large, prevailed upon William A. Smith to accept the presidency, in September of that year, as a last resort, to save the institution. His unconquerable will and his buoyant spirit seems to have been his greatest assets in reorganizing and overcoming the financial difficulties and general loss of confidence in the success of the College. He recognized his unusual handicap in this new position, because of the fact that he was not a college-bred man. At best, this undertaking as college president was an experiment, both for himself and for the founders of the college, since the large sums already contributed had not made a reasonable showing towards establishing a higher institution of learning.

At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees, in 1847, an effort was made to establish a Medical Department. This proved an unwise venture. By June of the same year the financial outlook justified the Board of Trustees in taking steps for the organization of a system of preparatory schools. By November a preparatory department was opened at the College and others at Ridgway and Garysburg, North Carolina. In June, 1850, President Smith reported the latter discontinued, but the schools at Lowell and Richlands, North Carolina, as "in successful operation and accomplishing much good." The Annual Report for the session of 1851-'52 mentions better financial conditions and the success of the "Demerit System," which had taken the place of the English dormitory system.

The old dormitory system of discipline, called the "police system" by Dr. Smith, was very disagreeable to him. He thought that it fostered deception and an improper attitude on the part of the students, instead of developing self-reliance and honor. Dr. Smith was highly pleased with the inauguration of a modified honor system of discipline in College.

In June and July of 1854, Dr. Smith made strenuous efforts to induce the Virginia Legislature to pass an act which would





give every incorporated college in the State \$20,000 in State bonds for every \$30,000 invested by the institutions in State bonds. The movement received a large support, but not quite enough for its success.

In 1855, Dr. Smith, with his Financial Agent, Rev. H. B. Cowles, launched a campaign to raise \$100,000 endowment for the College, which would enable the institution to educate the ministers' sons of the Virginia and North Carolina Conferences free of tuition for thirty years. Dr. Smith traveled extensively in Virginia and North Carolina, making speeches on education, which drew large crowds; often his characteristic fervor held his audiences as long as three hours at a time. The endowment was raised by 1859 and the interest in education in general, and Randolph-Macon in particular, was intensely revived. However, the civil struggle, near at hand, made impossible the collection of the greater part of the subscriptions, and swept away much that had been collected, along with all previous endowments, because the President and the Board of Trustees believed in the success of the South's cause so implicitly that they sold all the College securities and investments to buy confederate state bonds.

In November, 1855, the controversy, which had been brewing since Dr. Deems' resignation from the faculty of Randolph-Macon in 1848, between Dr. Smith and Dr. William F. Deems, culminated in an extended trial at the Annual Conference held in Petersburg, Virginia. Dr. Deems seems to have been the author of a letter published in the "Richmond Christian Advocate," under an assumed name, which reflected, as Dr. Smith thought, upon the family of a friend, W. H. H. Tucker, of Raleigh, North Carolina. Dr. Smith took this up and preferred charges against Dr. Deems at the North Carolina Conference of 1850. Continued unfriendly feelings between these two prominent divines led to three charges of "falsehood," two charges of "immorality" and one charge of "slander," being preferred by Dr. Deems against Dr. Smith, as previously mentioned. Dr. Smith was exonerated with only one negative vote and nine or ten declining to vote on each charge. But



the testimony revealed the apparent disappointment that both Dr. Smith and his friends felt over his failure to be made Bishop, with Dr. Deems' co-operation, in exchange for their support in securing the presidency of Randolph-Macon College for Dr. Deems. The abolitionists seem to have co-operated with Dr. Deems, hoping thereby to discredit their strongest opponent in the South.

The humiliation of this unfortunate controversy appears to have been the cause of Dr. Smith's resignation as President of Randolph-Macon College at the next annual meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Board declined to accept the resignation. Again in June, 1858, Dr. Smith tendered his resignation, for personal reasons, but the combined solicitation of the students and alumni and trustees induced him to withdraw his request.

In 1856 an unsuccessful effort was made to establish a "School of Military Tactics" in connection with the College. The catalogue for 1859-'60 announced a four-year curriculum, with elective privileges in the departments of Ancient Languages, Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy and Modern Languages.

Conditions during the first year of the war led the President and the Board of Trustees to contemplate the suspension of college work. But it was finally decided to convert the College into a military institution, which ran under a more or less complete system of military government until the College closed, March 9, 1864. In 1863 Dr. Smith applied for and received from Governor Letcher a commission as colonel for himself, a major's commission for Professor Blackwell, and a captain's commission for each of the other members of the faculty. But Dr. (now Colonel) Smith's commission was only nominal, because his lameness prohibited his participation in military activities. However, he served as chaplain for General H. A. Wise's command and General Huger, from July, 1861, for a period during hostilities.

The agitation to move the College from Boydton to a larger town was pressed in 1863-'64. But Dr. Smith reported, March



9, 1864, that the conditions of the country were unfavorable for such an undertaking.

After the war the college property was taken possession of by the federal military authorities, who maintained a Freedman's Bureau in the main building. The property damage, estimated by Dr. Smith and a committee appointed at the first meeting of the Board of Trustees which met in Petersburg, Virginia, August 23, 1865, a few months after the surrender, was \$5,000, a total loss. At the Board meeting in July, 1866, the net assets of the College were reported to be \$62,346. But Dr. Smith felt that he was not to undertake the rehabilitation of the institution and tendered his resignation as President, to take effect at once. The Board accepted his resignation, with resolutions of appreciation for his work as President during his twenty years of diligent service.

As College President, Dr. Smith was forbearing, sympathetic, and genteel to the students, as long as they manifested a submissive or penitent spirit for transgressions. But he was greatly to be feared, if a student resorted to deception or stubbornness.

In politics, "Dr. Smith was a Democrat of the Calhoun stamp. He believed implicitly in the right of secession, a sacred right guaranteed by the Constitution, and was not slow to give the reasons for the opinion he cherished. In the early part of 1861 he did not recognize the necessity for the exercise of the right on the part of the South. He thought that some compromise might be effected and the Union saved; yet, when Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated, and his policy forecast in the call for seventy thousand men to crush the rebellion, he no longer hesitated, but claimed rights which before he was willing to ignore."

While President of Randolph-Macon College, Dr. Smith held the chair of "Moral and Intellectual Philosophy," for which department he prepared a system of lectures to cover the entire courses. But only his "Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery as Exhibited in the Institution of Domestic Slavery in the United States; With the Duties of Masters to







Slaves," were published and preserved. In thirteen lectures, which make up a 338 page volume, Dr. Smith took up the history of slavery in America and then maintained that "the system, *per se*, is not sinful." At the same time he attacked Mr. Jefferson's doctrine as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. He then answered the objections to slavery, discussed the rights, moral and political, and applied the doctrines of the rights to government, to maintain his stand for slavery. The next lecture took up the abstract principle of slavery on scriptural grounds and examined the "misrepresentations of the principle" for further justification of domestic servitude. In the seventh and eighth lectures Dr. Smith separated the conduct of masters from the question of slavery, and showed that the negroes were not prepared for self-government, when brought to America, and were still unprepared, therefore, it was a humane act to place them under a domestic form of government, until they should be able to exercise their freedom properly. In the ninth lecture he undertook to justify his statements by pointing to the failures of attempts at domestic colonization, the result of the experiment in the cases of free colored population and the example of the Canaanitish nations. The next three lectures attacked emancipation doctrines, insisted upon the wisdom and humanity of the Southern policy of education until the negroes could be removed to Africa, but acknowledged that the country could never be entirely rid of the negro. Lecture twelve discussed political, foreign and religious influences as the result of slavery, and denounced the policy of free-soilism as unpatriotic. The last lecture was based upon Colossians IV, 1, in which he maintained that the duty of masters and the rights of slaves were reciprocal, and went into details of how masters should look after the health, comfort, pleasures and moral welfare of their slaves.

Rev. John H. Powell, D. D., of Cincinnati, Ohio, replied to Dr. Smith's lectures in a 369 page volume, entitled "Review of Lectures on Philosophy of Slavery by Dr. Smith," in which



he said that he addressed himself to "the system of American slavery thru Dr. Smith as one of its ablest advocates."

Dr. Smith called upon and advised with President Davis during the war relative to the problems confronting the South. On one occasion, just before President Davis' retirement from Richmond, Dr. Smith was personally entrusted with the safe keeping of some important documents belonging to Mr. Davis.

Dr. Smith was a member of every General Conference of the Methodist Church from 1832 until the division of the Church in 1844, and of every General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, until his death, including the Louisville, Kentucky, Convention. In the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1832 and '36 Dr. Smith took no prominent part, only appearing on the floor a few times in connection with minor affairs. But in the General Conference of 1840 he became an active figure in the organization of the Conference by helping to secure the adoption of an amendment to article seven and successfully opposing the adoption of the thirteenth article of the Rules of Order. He became a member of a committee of six on "Rules and Unfinished Business," for which committee he reported and advocated on the floor, three amendments to the Discipline. One of these amendments was to admit the testimony of negroes in trials of the Conferences, where the Annual Conferences deemed it expedient. On one occasion, when he had spoken his allotted time, a motion to allow him to continue was lost.

At the famous General Conference, held in New York, May 1 to June 7, 1844, Dr. Smith became a prominent champion of the southern cause in the difficulty between the northern conferences and the southern conferences over slavery. The subject was brought to an issue by the case of Rev. F. A. Harding, appealed from the Baltimore Conference, which had suspended him "from his ministerial standing for refusing to manumit certain slaves which came into his possession by marriage." Dr. J. A. Collins appeared as attorney for the Baltimore Conference against Dr. Smith, who ably defended Rev. Harding on the plea, first, that by the laws of the State



of Maryland, the slaves did not become the property of Rev. Harding, but remained the property of his wife; second, that the laws of Maryland prohibited liberated slaves from enjoying their liberty and therefore he could not free them; third, that Rev. Harding stood ready, with his wife, to transfer the slaves to Africa or any other free State whenever they would go, but that he could not conscientiously separate or send them away against their will, and therefore he could not be held responsible for that which he could not avoid. In addition to these grounds of defense, Dr. Smith showed that Rev. Harding had not violated the Discipline, because of the circumstances in which he was unwillingly placed. In spite of Dr. Smith's able defense, the Conference, by an overwhelming northern vote sustained the decision of the Baltimore Conference.

In this notable speech Dr. Smith took occasion to say, "I have always held myself to be, and now do, an anti-slavery man—not, however, an abolitionist in any sense of the word." He further declared that he heartily agreed with the Discipline that "slavery was an evil," but he explained why it was not a sin, from the southern point of view. He traced the extensive movement in Virginia for gradual manumission which resulted, in 1831, in the passage of a bill by the Virginia General Assembly, appropriating eighteen thousand dollars annually to advance the colonization movement. Experience proved this plan impracticable, because the negro was not then capable of self-government. But he, with the South, stood for giving the negro his freedom in whatever manner or whenever it became practical.

Immediately upon the announcement of the vote by the Secretary, Dr. Smith asked the privilege "of spreading his protest on the pages of the Conference Journal"—in order that "it may go forth to the American people, to serve as a beacon light to warn the church against the movements of a majority who can obliterate justice, and trample the rights of a minority." This request precipitated a heated controversy, in which reflection was made upon the kind of protest Dr.





Smith would prepare: in retort he declared, "I trust that I know too well what is due to myself as a gentleman, to those that acted with me, and to the Conference generally, to address them in any other than respectful terms; but if they think the paper will be what they will like, they will be mistaken. No! they will not like the paper for it will contain truths that will burn their cheeks. I am perfectly calm. I have the floor, and you have the votes; and you can, having the votes, put me down. Time was when such an excitement would have unarmed me, and thrown me off my defense; but no storm of excitement can now disarm me of my self possession. You cannot drive me from my position; and you might as well attempt to chain the lightnings, or confine the winds in the caves of Eolus, as to put me down when I have a right to be heard. I shall prepare such a memorial as will fearlessly and thoughtfully express the sentiments of myself, and those that think with me; and no consideration shall induce me to speak with timidity or fear at such a crisis."

The Harding trial made it evident that the General Conference of 1844 would not heed the Bishops' advice in their Quadrennial Address of 1848 and continued to uphold "the Union of these States, the perpetuity of the bonds of our national confederation, the reciprocal confidence of the different members of the great civil compact," by avoiding new ecclesiastical legislation on the subject of slavery.

Three days after the decision in the Harding case "a committee of six" was appointed to confer with the Bishops and report within two days, as to the possibility of adopting some plan, for the permanent pacification of the church. Three days after this motion passed Bishop Soule, in behalf of the committee of the Conference appointed three days previously, asked the delegates from the northern conferences and the southern conferences to meet separately. And the following day the Committee on Pacification reported their failure to agree.

It was understood that the trial of Rev. Harding was a test case, looking forward to action against Bishop Andrew,



of Georgia, whose situation was almost identical with that of Rev. Harding, relative to the ownership of slaves. Five days after the reported failure of the committee on pacification, the final crisis was brought by a motion asking Bishop Andrew to "desist from the exercise of his office until his wife's slaves were freed." During the intermittent debate on this resolution for the next eight days, Dr. Smith made one of the most powerful and eloquent speeches given in Bishop Andrew's defense. Besides reviewing the case and showing that Bishop Andrew had conformed to the "Compromise Plan" and the Discipline in every particular, he took occasion to protest against disunion and to say "it is supposed, we fear a dissolution of the Confederation of the States will follow a separation of our ecclesiastical union, and that we shall be involved in a civil war with the North, on account of slaves; and hence will submit to any measure of proscription that this Conference dictates. Sir, nothing can be more absurd—differences must be settled by negotiation. The evils to be dreaded in the political world are the tyranny of majorities—our ecclesiastical union, sir, ought to exert a happy influence on the political union."

The North could not yield ground on the Bishop Andrew controversy over slavery, for already they were losing both clerical and lay members to other churches because of the embarrassment, from the northern viewpoint, of sanctioning slavery in the South: and the southern section of the church could not change their stand for the simple reason that, if they did, they would lose their prestige and usefulness at home. Therefore, the inevitable declaration of the southern members on June 5th, that the conditions "render a continuance of jurisdiction of the Conference over the Conferences of the South, inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slave holding States." Dr. Smith was the second signer of this declaration, and possibly the co-author of it. Two days later he favored the successful motion providing for a plan of separation for the church and division of property.

In the Louisville (Kentucky) Convention which met May



1, 1845, to organize the Southern Church, according to the instructions from the various slave holding conferences, Dr. Smith began his prominent work as a member of the "Rules Committee." And after the Convention was organized for business Dr. Smith presented, jointly with Dr. Lovick Pierce, the first resolution offered for the organization of a Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, if an investigation committee should determine that the northern majority would not recede from their position. During the nineteen days of the Convention, Dr. Smith appeared on the floor, either as mover of some plan pertaining to organization or to speak in behalf of a pending motion, eighteen times.

Dr. Smith's prominence in the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which met in Petersburg, Virginia, May, 1846, can be judged by the fact that in addition to being Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Chairman of the Commission for settlement of Division Problems, he made twelve motions, most of which pertained to questions of wording in the Discipline, gave thirteen reports, and once, by special motion, was given extended time for discussion on the location of the "Book Concern."

In the General Conference of 1850, he served on the Finance Committee, Book Committee, Commission for Settlement of Property Disputes with the Methodist Episcopal Church, made four reports and six motions, most of which were concerning questions of the Discipline. By special motion the fifteen minute rule was suspended to allow Dr. Smith "to speak at large" on a resolution to establish a bicameral system for the organization of the General Conferences. The Lower House was to be composed of the regular General Conference membership, and the Upper House was to be composed only of two elders from each Annual Conference.

At the General Conference of 1854 Dr. Smith served as Chairman of the Book Committee, member of Committee on Discipline and was given full charge of the Church suit against the Methodist Episcopal Church for the recovery of property in the Southern Conferences and their portion of the Book







Concern, as per plan of separation, with full power to make a final settlement of same. He made twelve motions and seven reports and spoke on the wording of the Discipline twice.

In the General Conference of 1858 Dr. Smith was less active. He served on the Committee on Episcopacy, made one report on the Commission of Settlement of Church Property Dispute, made four motions and spoke on the changes of the Discipline three times. This was his last active General Conference.

The last prominent slavery controversy in which Dr. Smith participated was with Rev. Norval Wilson, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, through the columns of the "Fredericksburg News," from August 22, to October 8, 1849. It was the consensus of public opinion in that community, it seems, that Dr. Smith came out with the laurels.

In 1854 Dr. Smith was a signer of an address, by the Richmond Pastors, to the public, pleading for an endeavor to quiet civil strife between the North and the South and setting July 4th, as a day of prayer to Almighty God, that He would restrain the anger of men and preserve justice and homage and peace.

In 1866, after resigning the Presidency of Randolph-Macon College, he moved to St. Louis, at the earnest solicitation of friends in Missouri, and became the pastor of Centenary church, which he faithfully served until the session of the Annual Conference of 1868, when he became President of Central College at Fayette, Missouri. His task there was to raise \$100,000 with which to overcome the destructive effects of the Civil War on the institution and to establish a great Methodist University. But he was in such feeble health that he had to resign his task, in 1869, before its completion. He returned to the Virginia medicinal waters with the hopes of restoring his health. But his strength rapidly declined until death overtook him March 1, 1870, at the home of his disciple and intimate friend, Bishop Granbery, in the city of Richmond. A large and sympathetic throng attended his



funeral in Centenary Church and followed his body to its burial place in Hollywood Cemetery.

Dr. Smith was first married to Miss Mahala Miller, of Delaware, a lady of fervent piety and unusual talents, but feeble health. She was a licensed preacher. By her he had two daughters, one of whom married a Mr. Fuller, who lived in Missouri. Mrs. Fuller's granddaughter, Mrs. Connell, of Chicago, is Dr. Smith's nearest surviving descendant. Miss Laura Booking, of Richmond, an estimable lady, was his second wife. He next married Mrs. Eliza V. Williams, of Lynchburg, a most faithful and tender wife who shared his fortunes for twenty years and waited upon him during his last illness.

Dr. Smith's former slaves visited him during his last illness and manifested their sincere devotion to their former master by many expressions of sorrow and deep affection.

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## DANIEL SHEFFEY.

Harry K. Smith, A. B.

The formative period of our national life is the one which, more than any other, produced great men. Great issues arose which had to be settled; great battles were fought and won in the arena of public life—battles on which depended the nation's very existence. But those on the losing side of these battles were moved by the highest motives of patriotism. It was the fortune, or misfortune, determined solely by the viewpoint, of Daniel Sheffey to be in the ranks of the minority during the whole of his public career.

Sheffey's chief public service was rendered in an effort to uphold the Federalist party in Virginia. His ability and natural qualities for leadership stamp him as the most prominent of Virginia Federalists in the eleventh and three succeeding congresses, March 4, 1809-March 3, 1817.<sup>1</sup> He was the spokesman of the Virginia delegation. Believing in a strong and central Union, and maintaining his convictions with a dogged persistence, he was an ideal representative of the best interests of the Valley of Virginia.

Daniel Sheffey's father is said to have emigrated to America from Germany and to have settled in Pennsylvania, subsequently moving to Frederick, Maryland, where Daniel was born in 1770. Of humble but respectable parentage, honesty and application won for him the confidence and respect of the friends of his youth. Following his father's trade of shoemaker, the son had few opportunities for educating himself, but he availed himself of every spare moment. His mother provided him with books, and his odd hours were spent in reading them. He was deeply interested in text-books on Astronomy and Mathematics.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as he reached the early stages of manhood, Sheffey

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<sup>1</sup>*Annals of Congress.*

<sup>2</sup>Personal Letter from Mr. E. F. Sheffey, Lynchburg, Va., a grand-nephew of Daniel Sheffey.





left home, and journeyed on foot across the border line into the Old Dominion and settled in the little town of Wytheville in Wythe county. Here he set up his trade. Friends were at first scarce in this strange land; and his low means prevented him from entering into an active social life. However, his bright intellect and original ideas soon won for him a host of friends, and his extraordinary ability was generally conceded.

He studied law in the office of Judge Smith, a leading lawyer of the town, who had been attracted by the young man's intellectual powers. After being admitted to the bar, Sheffey won distinction in several important cases, and he soon acquired a lucrative practice.<sup>3</sup>

He was a member of the Grand Lodge of Masons and was secretary in 1798, 1799 and 1800 and Worshipful Master in 1801.<sup>4</sup>

As a proof of their trust in him, the people of Wythe county elected him, in 1800, to the House of Delegates of the General Assembly, where he served for that session and the three succeeding ones.<sup>5</sup> Again in 1808, he represented Wythe county in the House of Delegates,<sup>6</sup> and was in the legislature from Augusta county in 1823.<sup>7</sup>

The Journals of the House of Delegates of these years show that Sheffey was a prominent figure as a legislator. Several important bills were proposed by him, and he served as chairman of many committees, especially those of finance and bill drafting.<sup>8</sup> He played a conspicuous part in the inquiry of the so-called Armory Scandal of 1808 and 1809.<sup>9</sup> Under his leadership and in alliance with the "Quids," the Federalists in the Assembly began a sweeping reform movement. The Armory, which had been established in Richmond in 1798, when Republicanism was in the ascendant, had always been an eye-

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<sup>3</sup>*Federalists of the Valley*, Hattye Gray Sellers.

<sup>4</sup>*Records of the Grand Lodge of Masons, Wytheville, Va.*

<sup>5</sup>*Journal of House of Delegates, Commonwealth of Virginia.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Wayland, *German Element in Shenandoah Valley*, p. 270.

<sup>8</sup>*Journals of the House of Delegates*, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803.

<sup>9</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, December 10, 1808.



sore to the supporters of a strong national government. In 1808 it became currently reported that the Armory was being used for the private emolument of its managers, and that it was turning out an inferior product.<sup>10</sup>

Sheffey found little difficulty in securing the appointment of a committee of "backwoodsmen" to investigate the true state of affairs. Their report sustained the charges, and even went so far as to accuse the governor of being an accomplice. Accordingly the West again asserted itself, and a law was passed depriving the executive of the power to appoint the armory officials and to make payment of money from the state treasury without restrictions.

During his later years, Sheffey was always addressed as "Major." He was a short, stout man, very near-sighted, having a decided German accent in his speech. He had a habit of twirling his watch chain while addressing a court or jury.<sup>11</sup> A conscientious spirit with a high sense of justice lifted him above the ordinary run of politicians. He did not have an intuitive perception but was slow and deliberative. He was not afraid to take a stand for what he thought was right, and he commanded the respect of all his associates, who regarded him as a most responsible man.<sup>12</sup>

Although a true Federalist, Sheffey was an admirer of Thomas Jefferson, and in the year 1802 made a forceful speech in the House of Delegates expressing confidence in the President and favoring the adoption of a resolution approving the purchase of Louisiana.<sup>13</sup>

In the same year a change was made in the judiciary system of the state. Four chancery courts were instituted, and the first one was held at Staunton, July 1, 1802. Among the lawyers who qualified the first day were: Edmund Randolph, James Breckenbridge, Chapman Johnson and Daniel Sheffey.<sup>14</sup>

In some respects, Sheffey was a contradiction of the Puritan

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<sup>10</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, p. 439.

<sup>12</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, December 21, 1803.

<sup>13</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1802.

<sup>14</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, p. 214.



and the Cavalier. Though strongly opposed to gambling and other accepted social amusements, he shared the militant spirit of the aristocratic planters. Accordingly he favored legislation to suppress gambling, but voted for measures to strengthen the state militia.<sup>15</sup>

Like John Marshall and other Virginia Federalists, Sheffey was not friendly to the alien and sedition laws and favored their repeal.<sup>16</sup> He was keenly interested in all questions affecting our laws and federal policies. His intense Americanism, therefore, revolted against any and all attempts to make the common law of England the basis of the judicial procedure in the United States.

In 1808-1809 a measure came before the House of Delegates of Virginia for the relief of the debtor class.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that Sheffey represented a section having grievances on the subject of banks and credits, he opposed the measure. Said he: "Virginia being one of the leading states in the Union will declare to the world by passing this law, that the nation is on the verge of bankruptcy. This law will be a protection to the dishonest debtor and a deathblow to the just and honorable one."<sup>18</sup>

An idea of what the state paid its legislators in that day may be gained from the fact that Sheffey received \$3 a day for his attendance and \$40 for his expenses in traveling the five hundred miles to and from his home.<sup>19</sup> It was in these years that he married a Miss Hansen, one of Washington's smart set, by whom five daughters were born to him.

The semi-nationalistic policy of Jefferson had caused two local opposition parties to spring up in Virginia; one was known as the "Quid" party and the other as the Federalist. The latter was largely a revival of the old party of that name, and its strength lay in the Valley. In the elections of 1809, the first congressional elections after the Embargo, these par-

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<sup>15</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, January 15, 1802.

<sup>16</sup>*Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1804.

<sup>17</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, January 7, 1809.

<sup>18</sup>*Richmond Enquirer*, January 31, 1809.

<sup>19</sup>*Financial Records of the House of Delegates*, 1808.







ties displayed surprising strength and vigor. By their united efforts the Valley became solidly Federalist, as it had been in 1800 and 1803. Four members of that party were elected to Congress: Sheffey, James Swoope, James Breckenbridge and James Stevenson. This number was kept in office until 1815.<sup>20</sup>

The Federalists of the Valley and the Quids of the eastern counties now united to oppose the administration. In this role they consistently opposed Jefferson's peace policy; were friendly to Great Britain; and finally voted against the management of our second war with that country. The Federalists resented the drawing of this nation into strife with Great Britain, mainly because of economic reasons, for in England they had a profitable commercial ally. The interior counties of Virginia found in the mother country a ready market for wheat and other products of the soil, and the East was anxious to preserve undisturbed commercial relations.

In debate, Sheffey admitted that America's trade on the high seas suffered mostly from English vessels, but he insisted that it was because the tyrant of Europe, Napoleon, was unable to execute his wishes. Sheffey referred especially to the Berlin and Milan decrees, and he expressed little trust in the words and deeds of the Corsican. "Do not embark on a rough and boisterous sea, for I fear that you will go to the bottom," was Sheffey's concluding remark in a speech before Congress on the proposed war.<sup>21</sup>

However, Sheffey's views in regard to the second war with Great Britain are set forth more clearly in a speech made in 1813. He argued that to continue the effusion of blood and the waste of money was cruel and wanton, that the people's money was being squandered to enrich those who riot in the public spoils and who prosper by the people's calamities. Because President Jefferson had rejected the proposed treaty of 1806 with England, Sheffey blamed him for all the evils that

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<sup>20</sup>Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 1812.



had befallen the country. Its ratification, he insisted, would have insured peace.<sup>22</sup>

Carrying out the policy of adequate financial facilities for the central government, the Federalists strongly favored the recharter of the United States Bank. As their spokesman, Sheffey delivered a masterly speech which won for him a nation-wide reputation. He defended the constitutionality of the bank on the ground that Congress possessed all power "necessary and proper" to carry into effect its delegated powers. He admitted that the sentiment of his own state was against granting the charter, but denied that the question had ever been a party one, there or elsewhere. He said: "Much has been talked about State's rights and the offense given the states should this measure be adopted. It is true that their legitimate authority must be preserved, but on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that every relaxation on the part of this government weakens the Union, without which, the rights of the people are but an empty name. Let it once be established, as a principle, that the Federal Government is not to exercise any particular power because it is disagreeable to some of the states, and in a very little time it will not be able to exercise any power whatever." He maintained, that as a fiscal agent, the bank was both necessary and proper and that the power of Congress to incorporate such an institution was implied in the delegated power. Therefore, he was willing to entrust such questions, as the incorporation of a national bank, to the sound discretion and patriotism of the representatives of the people.<sup>23</sup>

Though a strict partisan, Sheffey had the ability to look through a situation to the end and to express his convictions and conclusions with clearness and force. He could also shift his points so that they were appreciated by everyone. He always commanded the respect of friend and foe alike, a power founded in his broad intellect, general tolerance, staunch loyalty and deep conviction.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 1813.

<sup>23</sup>*Annals of Congress*, 1811.

<sup>24</sup>*The Federalists of the Valley*, Hattye Gray Sellers.



A feature of his life as a representative in Congress was his frequent clashes with John Randolph, of Roanoke. The latter of aristocratic ancestry took great pride in his family's name and history, as do most Virginians, and he regarded Sheffey, of humble industry and limited educational advantages, as far his inferior and resented the "shoemaker" overshadowing him on several occasions. In one instance Randolph said, "The shoemaker ought not go behind his last"; to which Sheffey retorted, "If that gentleman had ever been on a shoemaker's bench he would never have left it." It is said, that Randolph once asked Sheffey what he had "done with his shoemaker's leather apron when he came to Congress." Sheffey's reply was that he had "cut the leather apron up to make moccasins for the Randolph tribe, descendants of Pocahontas." To another taunt of his rival, Sheffey shot back this answer: "The difference, Sir, between my colleague and myself is this, that if his lot had been cast like mine in early life instead of rising by industry, enterprise and study above his callings and occupation to a seat on the floor of this honorable body, he would at this time be engaged in making shoes on the bench." Sheffey often proudly referred to the fact, that while working at his trade, he read law and was admitted to the bar.<sup>25</sup>

In 1814, Sheffey addressed the House of Representatives upon a proposition to give the President greater control over the state militia as a greater security to our national defense. He considered the proposal as arbitrary and despotic, and joined the Federalists in opposition to it, calling it unjust. It was regarded as an initial step towards conscription.<sup>26</sup>

Daniel Sheffey was evidently of the peace-loving type of citizen. In this respect he was probably true to the interests and feelings of his neighbors in the Valley of Virginia, of whom Dr. Wayland has said: "In neither war nor politics have any great number of them been eminent leaders. The best of these people, as a clan, has not been toward either of these forms of activity to a considerable degree, but rather

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<sup>25</sup>Incidents sent in a personal *Letter* from Mr. E. F. Sheffey.

<sup>26</sup>*William Branch Giles*, D. R. Anderson, pp. 189, 290.





toward the scholarly or financially profitable vocations of a peaceful life and the fruitful seclusion of the rural community. The quiet virtues of home and the common duties of the simple citizen have seemed to charm their ambitions most."<sup>27</sup>

After an unsuccessful attempt to return to Congress, Sheffey moved to Staunton about 1818. Here he continued to practice his profession, but seems to have taken little interest in politics and public affairs. His little estate, Kalorama, just outside of Staunton, now claimed his time and attention. While on a visit to Warm Springs in December, 1830, he was stricken ill and died suddenly. He was a German Episcopalian and according to his wishes was buried in the Trinity Episcopal church yard at Staunton.<sup>28</sup>

His widow, and five daughters, opened a boarding school for girls at his country estate and conducted it prosperously for several years. The oldest daughter married Rev. Ebenezer Boyden who, from 1827 to 1833, was pastor of the oldest church in Staunton. The second daughter, Anne, remained single. The third Celestine married her cousin, Captain Hansen, and the fourth united with Mr. Oliver P. Baldwin, of Cleveland. The fifth married Mr. John P. Lewis, who was the eldest brother of Judge L. L. Lewis, of Richmond.<sup>29</sup>

Daniel Sheffey's brother, Major Henry L. Sheffey, was the father of James White Sheffey, of Smith county, a distinguished lawyer of his day and time, and an elector on the Confederate Presidential ticket in 1861. James White Sheffey died in 1876, being at that time a member of the Virginia Legislature. Major Henry L. Sheffey was also the father of Judge Hugh W. Sheffey, a distinguished lawyer, publicist and churchman, born April 12, 1815, died April 8, 1889. He was also the father of Rev. Robert Sawyers Sheffey, well known evangelist of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Wayland, *German Element in the Shenandoah Valley*, p. 134.

<sup>28</sup>Personal Letter from Mr. E. F. Sheffey.

<sup>29</sup>Personal Letter from Mr. E. F. Sheffey.

<sup>30</sup>Personal Letter from Mr. E. F. Sheffey.



## RITCHIE LETTERS.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, September 13, 1833.

Dear Sir:—I seize the first mail to inform you, that your fellow, James has absconded, and I fear, for the North. Mr. Keenan called on me, today, and informed me of his suspicions. I have seen your man John, and I learn, that during the last week, James was engaged cleaning up the house, but that he was not attentive and frequently away, of which Reed complained heavily to him. On Friday he told R. that he was going up to the coal pits to see his brother. The same day he dined with the other servants, and they say there was nothing to excite suspicion. In the course of the evening he went away and has not been seen or heard of since. It is ascertained that on the same night (this night week) six others, likewise, disappeared—among them Henry (Watkins Leigh's confidential house servant), Dr. Page's boy, Beverley Dabney's, one of John S. Burton's, a woman of Sharp's (much trusted), and another not heard of by me. James took off his clothes, as appears on examining his room, but how he got them out no one can or will inform me. I have requested Mr. Keenan to make out for you a list of vessels, which sailed from this port about that time, and I enclose you his memorandum. It is a pity you did not, as you one time thought, send James to Fauquier, and keep Frederick here. I was afraid your free maid servant would furnish a temptation for him to join her to the North. Pray, immediately on getting this, see to *her*. Send for Jacob Hayes. Tell him of all the circumstances, and obtain his argus eyes in your service. If you will keep a good look-out for the *female*, you may perhaps catch the *male*. He has possibly by this time ascertained where you put up before at New York, and arranged some of his plans and will in all probability put himself in communication with her directly. So by employing an active surveillance, you may obtain clue to the husband. Dont let *her* go out, and let the



girls look to their clothes. I think you had better take a little time in New York to make a rigid investigation. Get Hayes to look to the wharves where the within-named vessels lie. It is said that at least 100 of our slaves, if not more, have absconded from this city since January. Chapman Johnson lost his house servant about four weeks ago, who took off *his* wife from the Mills's.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, March 7, 1836.

Dear Sir:—I am aware (before seeing you) that Stevenson<sup>1</sup> had a squally encounter, for Clay has reported at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations, against him on the old score. I think Stevenson has been annoyed enough already on that score. You will possibly hear my name, letters, etc., brought in again, but never fear on that head for me. *There*, at least I am *rectius in Curia*, and have sent on the correspondence of September, 1834, in which I pledged myself to show any friend of Clay (a man of honor) my two original letters and Major Lewis'. Tyler saw them. I have written a note to Rives, am forwarding the aforesaid paper to him, in which I recite all my intercourse with Stevenson on the subject. I certainly am not ashamed of the part I had in that transaction, nor was he. But *au revoir*. Rives writes me he will be in Washington to-morrow.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, March 13, 1836.

Dear Sir:—In my opinion, you will have the *re infecta*, until you have seen the affair out, that is ascertained the facts about Texas, and assisted in molding the event. I shall rejoice to hear of Texas being ours, but I am surprised to hear, that any sort of difficulty can be felt as to the loans. I take

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<sup>1</sup>Andrew Stevenson, 1784-1857, represented Virginia in Congress, 1823-1834; served as Speaker of the National House of Representatives, 1827-1834; minister to Great Britain, 1836-1841.





this view of it: There are three parties—the Mexicans, the Texians and ourselves. If we try, we ought to satisfy the two others. The Mexicans are content with the cash, the Texians will be harder to please, and at the same time it will be most important to please them, otherwise, they will remain a discontented and cumbrous load upon our frontier; instead of becoming as they ought to become bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. We cannot content them, however, without consulting not only their rights, but interests, feelings, and even pride. We must, therefore, not only stipulate to admit them on equal terms as soon as expedient, into our Confederacy, but to respect all their rights, grants, contracts, etc., which as a Revolutionary Government they were authorized to make. Here, I cannot see how our Government can close with Mexico, until the three Texian Commissioners are present to supervise and to ratify with their approbation the bargain. This becomes doubly necessary in the case of the last loan, from the circumstance that the Commissioners have bound themselves “to procure a formal confirmation of this contract on the part of the government of Texas,” in the present sum of \$100,000—“that the said government shall accept and confirm the contract (as soon as practicable and before the adjournment of the next convention”). All, the Convention has probably ratified by this time, are bound by it, and will not readily acquiesce in so gross a disrespect of their immolated faith. And what will the Commissioners say who sign this pledge?

I would advise you to wait at least till the Commissioners arrive in Washington, see them, and insist upon their fulfilment. They must be forthcoming in a few days. In the mean time you ought to present these views to the proper authorities. What would the world have said, if *we* in our Revolutionary period, after borrowing money on certain conditions, and when the near repayment of the money *with interest* would not have constituted an equivalent for the risk made by the lenders and the sacrifice made for the borrowers, had not insisted upon an ample fulfilment of all the contracts made for securing the Independence of our country?



At all events it is not only *just* but *expedient*, to ratify all the fair contracts of the Texian government. Otherwise they will not be satisfied, and will think themselves merely bought without consulting their pride and their honor.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, March, 1836.

Dear Sir:—I have barely time to enclose you a very singular hand-bill I have received from Pittsburg. It is marked by uncommon power of composition. I have pointed with a pen to the most remarkable paragraph in it. Depend upon it, unless our government treats those people (the Texicans) with *forbearance* and *respect*, they will kick up. They will not be considered as *being bought and sold*.

Converse with Mr. Stevenson freely. Respect *my name*, I charge you earnestly.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, March 29, 1836.

Dear Sir:—I have yours of the 27th and hasten to drop you one line. You should not have brought me in, for we cannot be too chary in the use of my unfortunate name. Many a man may steal a house with more impunity, than I could look over the Hedge. My good friends, the Whigs, treat me with very little reserve, and make the most of every trifle, and sometimes make the very bubble they blow up. Besides, I really think the press ought not only to be free, but above suspicion. I would not ask a favor of the old General or any of his Cabinet, on any consideration. I am indeed literally disfranchised *quoad* the administration, and have already pledged myself to take nothing from Van Buren. You must now, my dear fellow, do two things—not only see Rives<sup>1</sup> but

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<sup>1</sup>William C. Rives (1793-1868), a representative in Congress from Virginia, 1823-1829; minister to France, 1829-1834; a senator in Congress from Virginia, 1836-1845; again minister to France, 1849-1853.



Forsyth,<sup>2</sup> and say to them that they must not breathe my name, and do as they may about the Texian loans and grants, I shall go for the treaty. I have always wished to get the country. As far back as 1835 (as I can prove by the *Enquirer*) but among the very first letters I wrote to Mr. Van Buren, after the present administration came in, I earnestly pressed him to secure it, and that the more I see, the more the country swarms with our own citizens, the more anxious I am to obtain it.

But in the 2d place you and Harrison must now take my part of the loan on your hands, I securing you against any sort of loss by the transaction. Don't think me eccentric in this, for even now to make any thing by it, I am afraid my motives would be misunderstood, and I would not be so misinterpreted for half my little fortune. I know, my dear Sir, that the matter did not strike you in this light before, but the fact is, I wish not only not to owe any thing to the folks at Washington, but not even for them or for any body to think so.

The accounts from Texas today are, I think, more favorable to the loan. The Mexicans had attacked the Citadel of San Antonio, but had been beaten off, had retreated three miles, and the Texians were marching in to defend the country against the invaders.

I charged Stevenson not to breathe my name to mortal ear. Do most anxiously enjoin upon him to observe my caution.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, April 9, 1836.

Dear Sir:—Bad news from Texas! I give you an extract from the *New Orleans Bee* of the 28th.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this Mr.

<sup>2</sup>John Forsyth (1780-1841), a representative in Congress from Georgia, 1813-1818 and 1823-1827; a senator from 1818-1819 and 1829-1834; minister to Spain, 1819-1823; Secretary of State, 1834-1841.

<sup>3</sup>From the *New Orleans Bee*, March 28, 1836.

#### LATE AND IMPORTANT FROM TEXAS.

We learn by the Passengers of the schr Cumanche, 8 days from Texas that the War has assumed a serious character. On the 25 February the Texian Garrison in Bexar of 150 men commanded by Lt.





Ellis has sent me a letter from his brother (Judge Ellis) of New Orleans, March 28th. He writes that he shall not be able to leave New Orleans till the 30th or 31th, being at the disposal of Com. Dallas, that the delay was annoying to him, knowing as I (the Judge) do the necessity and importance of my presence in the City of Mexico. "News (says he) has reached us this morning of the fall of San Antonio, and the destruction of the whole garrison amounting to 182 men. Colonel Travis, and Colonels James Bowie, Jesse Benton, and David Crockett are amongst the slain. Santa Anna commanded in person and is resolved, as I learn, to reduce Texas to unconditional surrender. I know not how the contest will terminate, but from the best information I have, the Mexicans will most likely succeed." I send you a New Orleans paper giving you all the news of the morning.

The paper is the New Orleans Bulletin of the 28th. It is fuller than the scrap I sent you, but not less said. It is said,

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Colonel B. Travis was attacked by the advance division of General San Anna, consisting of 2,000 men, who were repulsed with the loss of many killed, between 500 to 800 men, without the loss of one man of the Texians—about the same time Col. Johnson, with a party of 700 men while reconnoitering the westward of San Patricio, was surrounded in the night by a large body of Mexican troops, in the morning the demand of a surrender was made by the Mexican commander unconditionally, which was refused, but an offer of surrender was made as prisoners of war which was acceded to by the Mexicans—but no sooner had the Texians marched out of their quarters and stacked their arms, a general fire was opened upon them by the whole Mexican force. The Texians attempted to escape but only three of them succeeded, one of whom was Col. Johnson.

Between the 25th February and 2d March the Mexicans were employed in forming entrenchments around the Alamo and bombarding the place; on the 2d March Col. Travis wrote that 200 shells had been thrown into the Alamo without injuring a man. On the 1st March the Garrison of Alamo received a reinforcement of 32 Texians from Gonzales having forced their way thro' the enemies lines making the number in the Alamo consisting 180 men.

On the 6th March about midnight, the Alamo was assaulted by the whole Mexican army commanded by Santa Anna in person. The battle was desperate until daylight, when only 7 men belonging to the Texian garrison were found alive, who cried for quarters, but were told that there was none for them. They then continued fighting until the whole were butchered. One woman (Mrs. Dickinson) and a negro of Colonel Travis' were the only persons whose lives were spared. We regret to say that Col. David Crockett, his companion, Mr. Benton, and Col. Bonham of S. C. were among the number slain. Colonel Bowie was murdered in his bed, sick and helpless, Gen Cos



Bowie shot himself to escape the cruelties of the enemy. It gives a letter from Houston at Gonzales, March 11, to Fanning at Goliad, states the force which attacked the Alamo, was 2,300, and that they had killed and wounded 520, that they expected reinforcements of 1,500 under General Cordilla and 1,500 reserve to follow them, also that Ugantielear had arrived with 2 million dollars to pay the troops. The Bulletin also published an eloquent and thrilling appeal "To the people of the United States," in the name of the Convention.

Make the most of these things. Stevenson who arrived here only on Thursday evening, writes me this moment in reply to a note from me, "not a word as to the views of the M[exican] M[inister]. I dined with him several times in large companies—found him very sensible and agreeable. S. told me, that he had not had a word about his mission. All were anxious to ascertain what he came for, but nothing can be gotten out of him."

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on entering the fort ordered the servant of Col Travis to point out the body of his master, he did so, when Cos drew his sword and mangled the face and limbs with the malignant feelings of a Cumanche savage. The bodies of the slain were thrown into a heap in the centre of the alamo and burned. The loss of the Mexicans in storming the place was not less than one thousand killed and mortally wounded, and as many wounded—making with their loss in the first assault, between two and three thousand men. The flag used by the Mexicans was a blood-red one in place of the constitutional flag. Immediately after the capture Gen Santa Anna sent Mrs. Dickinson and the servant to Gen Houston's camp, accompanied by a Mexican with a flag, who was the bearer of a note from Gen Santa Anna, offering the Texians peace and a general amnesty if they would lay down their arms and submit to his government.—Gen Houston's reply was—"True, sir, you have succeeded in killing some of our brave men, but the Texians are not yet conquered."

The effect of the Fall of Bexar throughout Texas was electrical; every man who could use a rifle, and was in a condition to take the field marched forthwith to the seat of war. It is believed that not less than 4,000 riflemen were on their way to the army when the Cumanche sailed, determined to wreak their vengeance on the Mexicans.

General Houston had burnt Gonzales and fallen back on the Colorado, with about 1000 men; Col Fanning was in the fort at Goliad, a very strong position, well supplied with munitions and provisions with from 4 to 500 men.

The general determination of the people of Texas is to abandon all their occupation, and pursuits of peace and continue in arms until every Mexican East of the Rio del Norte shall be exterminated.





TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, June 15, 1836.

Dear Sir:—Accounts continue favourable to the Texian arms. The Mexicans are full on the retreat. We have rumors still that Houston is not on good terms with the executive government of Texas, and that whispers are coming out that a plot is forming to supersede him by Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> I suspect one party design in all this.

News from Georgia to-day that the Cherokees are up, and rumors of the reducing of Cedar town to ashes, and butchering several families.

Reed's report of the relief of the Block House is also received. He is sever on South[?], though he will be more so, when he sees his *official* letter about him.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, June 20, 1836.

Dear Sir:—I am happy to learn that Tyler is pleased with my letter. I certainly am very much delighted with his manly course towards Stevenson. If he be not confirmed, I think it will be an act of gross injustice. Daniel has just called and tells me of the very warm manner in which Leigh condemned the outrageous rejection of Van Buren, at the time, but I presume a new light has since fallen upon him!

Congress ought not to adjourn, certainly until they have got through all their important business. The State Bank's Deposit Bill should be passed, before they think of leaving things as they are.

I hope, if Taney be rejected, the President can have no idea of withholding other nominations, and letting Taney go on after the session. The people never will submit to such an evasion of the Constitution. You speak of Polk for the Treasury. If as you intimate this should interfere with Stevenson, it

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<sup>1</sup>Probably Morgan Calvin Hamilton (1809-1893), senator in Congress from Texas, 1870-1877; first moved to Texas in 1837.





should not be done. No such injustice should be done him.

I have requested Major Lewis to permit you to take copies of my letters to him, written to him on the London mission. I suppose the letter Tyler had in his possession was one of them.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, Early in 1837.

Dear Sir:—I am sure, I need not press you to an immediate and cordial acquaintance with General Hart, with whom I have enjoyed a very free and interesting conversation. Receive him. I have no doubt you will do so warmly, as a gentleman, and a man of distinction. He is charged with important commissions to our government, in which I cordially wish he may succeed. Carry him immediately, if you please, to Parker. Introduce him to Mr. Rives and to Major Lewis. I hope Mr. Van Buren will see everything in the true point of view. No man ought to wish more than he, that *General Jackson* should recognize Texas. Otherwise, Mr. Van Buren's struggle may be arduous and fearful.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, January 16, 1837.

Dear Sir:—Who the deuce wishes to be the President? The cares of office will soon teach Mr. Van Buren a melancholy lesson on this subject. Five years ago he wrote me on the dissolution of the first Cabinet (putting the best foot foremost you see) that he did not wish to be run as the *Vice President*, and as to the President, he could not see in the office itself anything to pay for the trouble necessary to get there. He will soon find the *cares of office* itself to overbalance all its *honors*. If he would take my advice, he would never commit himself about giving office, suffer scarcely any man to talk *to him* about it, and select him whom he thought best qualified to discharge its duties.



## TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, January 26, 1837.

Dear Sir:—The old song! Nothing to write about! I have been nearly all day cooped up in my nest, not like the bee, roving from flower to flower, to gather honey if there were any, for your amusement. An agent of the James River Company has called on me to consult about the damages for a part of my island, in order that he may straighten the canal. My Reporter has called this evening to advise with me about the order of the day, and last, but not least, Mrs. Green and Charlotte,<sup>1</sup> the former very *naive*, full of anecdotes about her last night's party, of anticipations for Judge Cabell's party of to night, and of Gwathmey's party of tomorrow night. She will write you of Mrs. (Dr.) Cabell's *Soirees* of every other Thursday night, with light cake and lemonade, and what you please afterwards, *pour passer le temps*. She caught me in the street yesterday, slippers on, and pressed me with honest warmth into the service. I like this *sans ceremonie* idea very much; and if I had less politics in my head, and more money in my pocket, should be a constant votary at her *Soirees*. Fortune has dealt scurrily with me; fortune intended me for a gay and gallant amateur of the fairer portion of creation, but the cares of the world have blighted my character.

With the above exceptions, my dear Sir, I have scarcely seen a single human face divine during the whole day, and therefore how can you expect any thing from me? My brain is as dry as the last *remainder* Biscuit of the voyage.

They have been upon the Bank Bill and Leigh's Resolutions to-day. Pendleton of Rappahannock on the floor, taking a broad sweep at the dominant party! Heaven save us from your long Talkers! General Bayly has next the floor, and thus these gabbling politicians, instead of making it the busiest and most important session, for State concerns, which we have had for years past, having before them the whole Banking.

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<sup>1</sup>These were Ritchie's daughters, Mrs. Green being Thomas Green's wife.



Internal Improvement, and Surplus Systems, are wasting our precious time in unavailing debate.

Roane is perfectly outraged about Judge D[aniel]. I shall be hardly able to rein him in. He wants to rip up the caucus and the nomination of D[aniel] instead of P[arker] in terms not very conciliatory.

Thanks to my stars the navigation of the James River is again open. The steamboat came up last night, and I presume my Better Half will be up on Friday night. In a letter which I received from her this morning, she bids me "remember her most affectionately to dear Bessy, and tell her how much she has felt for her and how delighted she is at the recovery" of the Judge.

"I hope you have thanked Mrs. Rives for the book," says the good Lady. No, indeed; not in a manner which the kindness of Mrs. Rives deserves. But when you see the Lady, whom a complimentary gentleman in a late letter to *his* wife described as *so very interesting*, be so kind as to present to her my kindest wishes and warmest thanks.

The *Dramatic personel* you assign to the new Cabinet, puzzles me a little. You say "Forsyth, Kendall, Woodbury, Donaldson (as Mars) and the Judge (probably as the Neptune of the Pantheon.) 1st why do you put Kendall 2d. Surely you dont mean that he is to change his situation from the Post Office. 2d are you sure about D.? and 3d why do you think that the Judge is to be the Secretary of the Navy? He could be more *an fait* in the War Office, and I have always thought he would make a splendid Secretary of that Department. But it is very desirable for us to know whether he will be in the Cabinet at all; as it might save some of his friends here sore trouble about the C. of A. I should like to be present when you ask Mr. Rives *how* he likes the cast of the Cabinet. He would of course, blush, and smile, and strike his boots (Do you observe?) But what does he say? I shall hold him accountable for any *faux pas* which the Arch Magician may make—"Te duc; et auspice Teucro." When the friends of Van Buren find such powerful forces in the field, they ought at least "start with the *best foot foremost*."





TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, September 20, 1837.

Dear Sir:—Shall I bore you with politics? Be it so then. I am no heretic. I go for the principles which I maintained in 1834. I told or rather wrote Mr. Van Buren, just before I went on to Washington that the balance of the Constitution was somewhat lost and that we must restore it. The Executive power “has increased, is increasing, and must be diminished.” For this reason especially, as well as because it is not so safe and convenient as the State Banks, well organized and well governed, I go against the Sub-Treasury System. I go against Judge P[arker] and Dr. B[rockenbrough], my very best friends and soundest counsellors, because I am satisfied they are wrong. But I’ll not break up my party, if I can fairly and honorably avoid it. Were I to consult *feelings* alone I would have gone with Van Buren. I like him warmly as a man; I respect him as an honest and able politician; I esteem him as a generous friend. But I cannot support a system which I humbly think will not answer its purpose and will contribute to enlarge the sphere of Executive patronage and power. I took my stand without knowing who was with me, but I begin to believe that the great body of the people will go against the Sub-Treasury and Specie payments, especially at this time. Get back the Banks and Specie payments. *That* is the first great thing needful. It is really to relieve the people, and I believe, if the government does nothing to thwart them, they will be able to do it early next year. If the extra Congress does not saddle us with the Sub-Treasury System (and I begin to think they will not) it will lose ground daily, as the period of resumption approaches. *But*, I have prepared and shall again press upon our friends, the *Special Deposit* system in our state banks, selected, if they will by Congress and chanceable for cause by the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Get acquainted with Mr. Legaré of Charleston, and talk all this matter over with him. It is his favorite plan. Congratulate Mr. Rives again for me on his splendid success.



TO THOMAS GREEN.

Richmond, Virginia, October 14, 1841.

Dear Sir:—I have agreeable news for you, I hope, and although I have requested Peyton to write you, yet having dispatched my Devil for the last time and given another black eye to the Whigs, I have time to drop you a hasty line myself. I think there can be no doubt *now* that Hamilton has completed the Texas Loan, and is bringing home the golden sheaves with himself. All I know about it is 1st the paragraph from the article of the New York Evening Post (Bryan's paper and very cautious in such matters), which you will see verbatim in to-morrow's Enquirer. It states that a letter had been received from him, that he had completed the loan and was returning to the United States with the proceeds in gold—terms not stated. I have hunted up all the New York papers of Monday (the latest date) and among others, the squint-eyed Bennett's Herald, which has been generally the first to report on Texas matters—hoping to find in it the whole letter of Hamilton, but not a syllable does it throw out upon the matter.

In the 2d place Rutherford has just left me, and reports his having just seen James Wickham, who returned, *you know* (as my wife says) in the accident, and he informs me that Stevenson was cutting all sorts of Didos, cursing and fussing that Everett was not there to relieve him from his office and permit him to take the steamer of the 4th of October, but that he had taken passage on the 23d, along with Hamilton and Heth. I presume the steamer will have your bent fingers upon its safe arrival, if it should bring the Golden Fleece. May it prove the voyage of Jason to you. If the Texians should not prove simpletons enough to invest *their* treasure in a bubble bank, it will give them great relief, as well as raise your lots in Galveston and lands elsewhere, and if you get your share of the commissions I think you will know how to place it to the best account, and that it will give you a solid relief. God grant; it may be so! I will write you again upon this subject, if I can obtain further information.



FROM JOHN C. RUTHERFORD.

White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, September 1, 1845.

Dear Sir:—You have no doubt heard of the odd mixture of people we have had here this season, viz: Captain Tyler (or as his good lady calls him *the* President or Mr. President), Mr. Henry Clay, Judge Daniel, our friend Mr. Stevenson, Chas. F. Mercer, Governor Johnson of Louisiana, Governor Gilmer of Georgia, Mr. Pettigrew of Charleston, the Judges of the Court of Appeals, and sundry others whom I can not now remember, and not a few hitherto entirely unknown to me. I did not get here early enough to witness some amusing scenes of which Mr. Stevenson informed me, and among the rest, some in which he cut no small figure; but you know how admirably he tells a story, and how very amusing he can make the most trivial incident. I have been exceedingly entertained at some sportive conversations and good humored hits between him and Mr. Pettigrew. They have contracted a great liking for each other, and by their good humor, have contributed not a little to the amusement of their friends. Mr. Pettigrew is a very pleasant and highly gifted man, but you know him by reputation.

I understand that there was a ludicrous meeting, indeed quite a *scene*, at Mr. Singleton's quarters shortly before I got here. Captain Tyler and Lady walked up to Mr. Singleton's on a visit about dusk. Mr. Stevenson was also there, all the party being seated in the portico. It was not dark, but yet not quite light enough to distinguish a face you did not expect to see. While all were chatting away socially, a tall gentleman walked up the steps, and who should he be but Mr. Clay. The whole party, including Mr. Clay, were considerably flushed. Mr. Singleton announced Mr. Clay. He took his seat. No salutation passed of course between *three* of the gentlemen. After a short and embarrassing conversation, interrupted by occasional and distressing pauses, the company were invited to walk into supper. The ladies all went in, Mr. Stevenson leading with Mrs. Tyler. After waiting some







little time, and no one else coming in, Mr. Stevenson proposed, as the gentlemen did not seem inclined to take supper, that the ladies would be seated, that if Mrs. Singleton would pour out the tea, he would cut the bread, and that they should take their supper. It seemed that *one* of the gentlemen had taken tea and recollected an engagement; the *other* had a letter to write. So they decamped, leaving Mr. Stevenson in possession of the field. Stevenson, in his way, makes a good story of it. According to the account he gives of the affair it must have been highly amusing.

Some say that Mr. Tyler has not been well received here and has not met with the attention to which he was entitled. He told me, however, that with the exception of the Judges, of the Court of Appeals, (not one of whom called upon him) he has received great kindness and attention. Hearing that he had been neglected, I was more attentive to him than I would otherwise have been, and was very much pleased with his Lady, who has not only a fine person, but seems to be very amiable and good tempered. I had many long and interesting conversations with him, and by the by, he spoke in the highest terms of the great ability and tact with which the *Union* is conducted and dealt out compliments to you in no unmeasured terms. He said that he had not received the *Enquirer* for some time past and that he did not know why, for he had not discontinued it. He did not mention the matter however to me with the view that I should repeat it.

It is impossible for the prominent men of the nation to move about without being closely watched. We accordingly hear many surmises about the motives of the ex-President and the would be President in visiting the springs. Some think that the Captain would probably like to be Senator, and some are of opinion that Mr. Clay has come here to keep in public view. It is of course too soon and would be highly impolitic for him or his friends to make any demonstration *now*—but the idea is prevalent here, at least with our party, that he and his friends are at least living in hope if they die in despair. Mr. Clay, tho much broken, looks to be in good health.



FROM NATHANIEL MACON MARTIN.

Petersburg, Virginia, February 7, 1846.

Dear Sir:—To use an expression familiar to business men I would remark that “I have none of your valued favors to reply to.” I had this pleasure some time since and indulged the hope (slightly I confess as I knew that you hardly had a *half inch* of spare time) that I would have the pleasure of hearing from you.

My satisfaction at the reception of Mr. Polk’s message in England is beyond expression, and we are in my humble judgment, placed in a point of view much more favourable towards having the administration properly and *justly* sustained by Congress than could have been expected from the developments of opinion in the Senate up to that time. It strikes me as being a little singular that some of those who aided in the election of Mr. Polk were incapable of appreciating the full force of his character for ability, sagacity, and firmness. If I am not mistaken in the signs of the times there are those who are distinguished in our party for talents and clearness, who would now like to have it in their power to take a position which would lend its full force in support of the President, if it could be done without liability to the charge of fickleness or sudden change of opinion. Such a course will be best for those who may desire to take it, as the Administration is stronger on the Oregon question than upon any one measure it came into power upon—except perhaps Texas—and I believe fully equal to that. The great blunder committed was in supposing that England would view the subject as she has heretofore, in the light that it was a matter in which *the people* felt no interest in this country and that as the President was not backed by the people. She might bluster and procrastinate, as she did when the *family* speech of the President was made in March last, and under this impression, some of our friends thought it politic, and I fear popular, to strangle the administration by withholding that support which its wisdom so fully deserved.



In a measure there was some ground for supposing that such a course might be popular from the fact that the party did not show that unbroken front in standing by the speech of the President, in March last, which it should.

The Whigs with one voice yelped to the cry raised by the British press against the remarks of the President about Oregon, and to the shame of a portion of our friends, they did not stand boldly out to justify the President and thus lent a qualified approval to the censures visited upon him by the British and the Whigs, and thus they reasoned themselves into the belief that the country was not ripe to sustain the President.

Some thought (of our friends, as said the Whigs) that the President in his inaugural address should not have said what he did about Oregon, and I have never met with any one that I now recollect, who on reviewing the position of the party since Mr. Polk's nomination, did not see the propriety of his speaking out his opinion on that subject, tho they would not fully confess it. They appeared to have forgotten that the Baltimore Convention committed Mr. Polk to that great question with other cardinal measures of the party. If he had spoken out on the Tariff, Independent Treasury, and Texas, and then stopped short, I am much mistaken if the "Great Whig party" would not have charged us with raising to the presidency a man who was so much of a craven as to be afraid to speak out his opinion upon a great measure advocated by his party for fear that Great Britain would take offence at it.

This proud old Dominion has been seriously *hurt*, I fear, by the course her young and talented sons have seen fit to pursue. I fear that the idea which appears to me to dominate the minds of too many of them, will end in much injury to the party—that of making the truly great Carolinian President. He does not in my opinion stand the slightest chance for it, and it fills me with surprise to see men who possess, in other respects, practical judgment, so infatuated as to be looking for, and lending all their energies to accomplish such an event.

His great talents and eminent virtues would entitle him to





any place, but his anxiety and that of his friends will keep him down through all time. My humble exertions will be used to keep down *for years* the question of the next presidency, and it has pained me to find that any should be found who are now trying to start it.

FROM JOHN STRODE BARBOUR.

Catalpa, Virginia, February 12, 1846.

Dear Sir:—The security of the Republican party consists in its unity and whatever tends to division tends to ruin. Un-officered and unambitious of office, I feel nevertheless as anxious a desire for the success of Mr. Polk's administration, as any booster in the ranks.

Selected by common consent in a party of discrepant elements, and succeeding to power by one united effort of pervading confidence, it was easy to foresee that his path had its thorns and that he would not be allowed repose upon a bed of roses. To other difficulties were superadded the venal pursuit of office and pelf, by the followers of those particular leaders, who had been pretermitted in the Nomination at Baltimore. Neutrality to those followers in dispensing benefactions, was wholly impossible; because the gifts of executive prerogative must be bestowed some where. The President could not clinch them all within his hand and refuse all, because his duty required that these trusts should be given. Equality of distribution, with measuring had by square and scruple, was equally impossible. Beset with these perplexities it was in the power of heads of segments to relieve the Chief Executive from the obloguy and distrust that perilled him, by abstaining to ask or take for their particular favourites, the largesses of the Government. I know that one of these, foreseeing the mischief in the executive path, had wisely resolved to himself that he would abstain and that his friends would abstain from adding to the perplexities of the President in this respect. I believe it was found impossible to adhere to this purpose, without incurring the reproof of in-



gratitude from others and the doubt in ones own conscience, that the reproof was well laid. The failure of expectation or the denial of requests were set down immediately to the account of hostility to the party recommending, and the unworthiness of the seeker of place found a ready explanation to his vanity for a failure that he was quite sure to set down to any other than its true cause. The least truth with much of the leaven of error, was swollen into serious matter and borne to the abused ears of men, who were the more easily imposed on, because of their own integrity of mind. Tales were falsified and borne to Mr. Calhoun, that did not bear the test of scrutiny, and when first divulged to me, I said this is not true, and I will ask the President, as the most effectual means of arresting this current of falsehood. It was for this reason that I said to you some three weeks since that I desired to speak with you before I left Washington, and I would have done so to the President had opportunity offered. When we came at an after time to winnow the chaff from the wheat of these falsifications, the incoherence of the tale was too striking for credence, and I abandoned the purpose that I indicated to you. I thought this apology due you in explanation of what might seem to require a word to you, after the hasty remarks on the last evening of my seeing you. I know that Mr. Calhoun carries to Washington the kindest feelings for the administration. I am well persuaded that like sentiments were sincerely entertained for you. If I could, without indelicacy, send you a letter of his to me, about the time that I wrote to Mr. Calhoun you would be compelled to adopt a concurring opinion. Kindness and forbearance will do much to preserve kind relations, and harmony and union were never more needed than *now* in *Virginia*. I have no particular interest in politics, and I know that you will not distrust my motives. The Whigs are trusting to our dissensions, and I believe that they will trust in vain. By way of illustration in my prediction, I heard it stated in Washington City that Mark Alexander and Lewis Harvie would never quit our ranks and that avowals tantamount to that result, had issued from each of



them. At my return home the enclosed letter from Mr. Alexander was put into my hands, and you may judge whether it is likely he will support either *Archer* or *Rives*. Yet in reference to these two individuals (for the United States Senate) was I confidently assured that Mr. Alexander had his purpose fixed. I do not know that you are as thoroughly acquainted with Alexander as I am. He is one of the purest men in private life, and one of the truest in public that I have known in more than twenty years of public service.

FROM JOHN P. HEISS.

Union Office, Washington, D. C., February 2, 1847.

Dear Sir:—With all respect for your good judgement and excellent good nature, I felt compelled although I regret to say so, to differ with you on some points. Truth is truth, and in my humble opinion the plainest way it is told, is the best. The article you allude to, I saw after it was in type, and just before the paper went to press. It was written by Dr. Houston, and I endorse and do endorse every word of it. Dr. Houston when he commenced reporting this session requested Rives to send him a copy of the Congressional Globe, which he thought the reporters were, as an act of courtesy, entitled to. Mr. Rives refused him. Was this right after using Dr. Houston's reports?

You are at liberty to take all the responsibility of that article from your own shoulders and place it upon mine. You know the whole history of this Congressional Globe; you know that I insisted after we purchased the Globe establishment, that we should immediately issue our prospectus to continue it under the same name, as we had a right to do; but was overruled by yourself, Cave Johnson, and others who were called in to counsel about it. You also know that the whole course pursued by Blair and Rives in the publication of the Globe, is in direct violation of our contract, and most outrageous and shameful in its character in every respect. Your good nature has influenced me to bear all these things with





moderation, yet, I believe I was right in insisting that we should continue the Congressional Globe under its old name, and that it is better for men to manage their own business without consulting political leaders as to what is the best policy for *the party*, at the sacrifice of their own rights. I am as good a party man as any man, but I protest against remaining quiet, for party policy, when injustice and wrong is being done me. As to the editorial department of the paper, it is a matter I never did, nor never do I want to have anything to do with it. I have no voice and ask none in the policy in which it is conducted. I leave it untirely with you, and I am satisfied it can be in no better hands; but I claim justice, and I claim it as a matter of right through the columns of the Union, as long as I have an interest in them. I am willing to father the paragraph you feel mortified about, and I hope you will state in the paper of tonight, that you had nothing to do with it, that it was put in without consulting you, and under the direction of myself. I hope you will do me, as well as yourself, the justice to state this fact.<sup>1</sup>

I must candidly admit that I am impetuous—too much so to be connected with a paper in Washington City, and therefore permit me, without any feeling whatever, to request you to name some person who will take my position in the Union. I will sell out to any friend you may name, on such terms as no one can complain of. This proposition, I again repeat, is not made under any excited feelings; but, on the contrary, it would prove satisfactory not only to myself but Mrs. Heiss. The impulse of my nature is not much allayed by being connected with the press. It is disturbed instead of quieted, and this Mrs. Heiss perceives every day; therefore nothing would please her better, than for me to separate entirely from the press. It is an honor which I will freely give up, but one which I shall cherish in my memory as long as I live. My associations with you have always been of the most pleasing character, and to have been connected with you in business is as high an honor as I could wish, or even aspire to: but, I tell

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<sup>1</sup>See Ambler, *Ritchie*, 266.



you frankly, that my firm belief is that my health and disposition, as well as the happiness of myself and wife would be benefited to a great extent if I could be free once more and disconnected from politics and political newspapers.

FROM E. W. BROWN.

Platte City, Missouri, February 2, 1847.

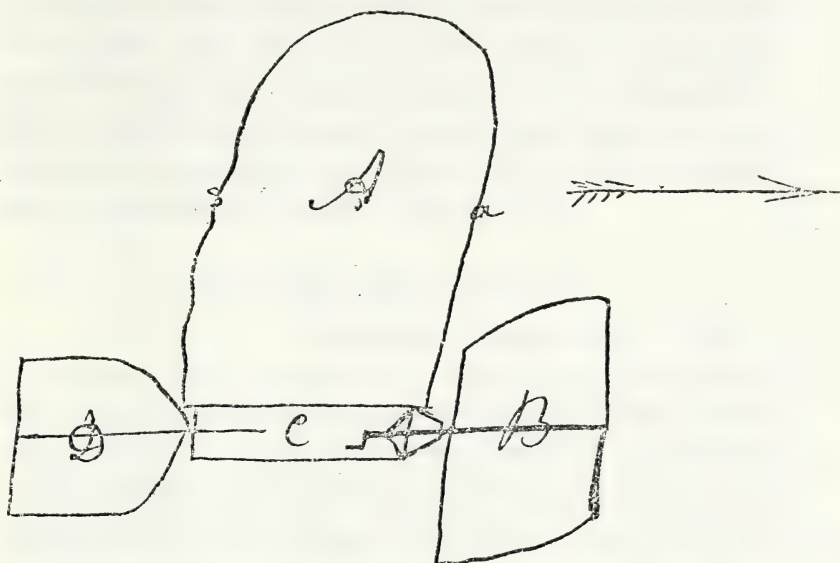
Dear Editor:—I have for many years past been engaged in contriving a plan for the navigation of the atmosphere by means of the balloon, which I have at length succeeded in doing. There is no difficulty in ascending into the air, but thus far this knowledge has been of little use, since after the air is ascended the balloon is entirely at the mercy of the winds. To remedy this difficulty and to place it entirely under the control of man who by a simple contrivance can regulate and control its course through the atmosphere, is the object of this communication. I would not, were I able to prepare and exhibit the experiment upon an extensive scale, trouble you with this line. But since both the time and means are out of my power, I have thought proper to publish through your columns (with your consent) the results of my investigations, hoping it may fall under the eye of some person who may undertake and prove to the world that the atmosphere, as well as the ocean, may be navigated and subjected to the powers of man.

The plan is as follows: a balloon is constructed in the usual way to the bottom of which is attached a fraim long enough to convey two persons, much longer than wide, or as it were like a boat at the bow end of which is a screw propeller after the manner of the screw propeller of the steam ships, only as much longer as the air is less dense than water. At the back end is a rudder the same as for water, also as much longer as air is less dense.

The whole contrivance should be as light as possible in order that the balloon part may not be larger than can be helped. Two persons will ascend one of whom will by means simply



of a crank set the screw propeller in motion while the other by means of the rudder directs the machine at pleasure.



A is the balloon, B the propeller, C the fraim for carrying the operators and freight, D the rudder. Now when the propeller B is set in motion it will have a tendency to drag as it were the whole aparatus in the direction of the arrow, but as the largest amount of reistance is against the balloon A, it will have a tendency to lean over in an opposite direction from which it now stands in the figure, but it will be prevented from turning over by C and its contents acting as ballast. This direction however will be favourable by keeping the machine in an ascending direction, and if the balloon A be elongated in the direction a. s. so that it be reduced to a cutting edge, the resistance will be much lessened.

The same propelling aparatus attached to an engine and placed upon a car with large wheels on a railroad would propel it with great velocity. There are many other purposes also to which it may be applied.





This is the simplest form that can be devised and it can not propel a balloon with very great velocity. But when it is recollected that the resistance to be overcome is so very small, it will be seen that in still weather it can be conveyed across rivers, lakes, and arms of the sea and when that perfection of machinery shall be attained that great power can be produced by engines of small weight. I have not the least doubt that a balloon will be propelled by the above apparatus or one similar to it through the atmosphere with a velocity equalled only by the most swift winged birds of flight.

FROM JOHN STRODE BARBOUR.

Warrenton, Virginia, May 7, 1847.

Dear Sir:—I am released from labour tonight and know not that I may have another leisure moment which I may appropriate to other duty than that which brought me to this court.

The succession for the Chief Magistracy of the Union is engaging the public thought. Circumstances that cannot be resisted force it into the popular deliberation. Delay will allow other pretensions than those which are homogeneous with our principles, to occupy a controlling position in the field of inquiry and decision, and we shall see when *too late*, that procrastination has been fatal to the best interests of the Confederacy. Many of our prominent men are already striking ahead in favor of Taylor. (By way of illustration, I heard that General Gordon recently declared that the Whigs should not get ahead of him in support of Taylor, that he was his candidate.)

My opinion is that Mr. Polk is the only man that can be presented to the North Republicanism of the country with fair hopes of success.

His private virtues are unsullied.

His political principles are tried and approved.

For him every section and fragment of the Democracy united in the last election. There is no good cause now existing which did not more strongly prevail in 1844, for with-



holding the popular suffrage from him. He has been faithful to his duties, his friends, and his principles. Faction itself raising its view for the time above its own region of malecontents is constrained to admit that he has been honest to the pledges that brought him into power, and there is no candid friend now called to scan his claims, but must admit them to be stronger than in the last election. Of the renown that has been won in the battles of Mexico, Polk is legitimately entitled to his share. "He bade the Conqueror go forth." He supplied the material for glory, and justice must award *him* a share in its acquisition. Taylor's present monopoly will be shattered and depreciated by the vitality and perhaps the success of Scott. Dissention in military aspiration is its own weakness, and that weakness is the strength to civil over military pretensions. Men will think, and as they reflect on that dissention, they will grow wiser to their truer duties. Another element of discord is already exhibiting itself in the vitality of the peace men of the Whig party. The ambition, sleepless and turbulent, of the numerous pretenders to the purple, in the Whig ranks, who are the sworn foe to military aspiration. Do you remember Clay's letter to Judge Brooke and the denunciation it holds forth? The sentiment it utters is among the consecrated doctrines and dogmas of a large class of the considerate and cautious part of our Whig countrymen. Venability in position and argument, of necessity provokes suspicion, and suspicion of patriotic integrity is the deadliest bane of confidence. *En passant*, how can South Carolina refuse, in such a contest, her support (her continued support) of the same man, to whose support she was chained and invoked by her leaders, for reasons that apply with increased cogency and force at this hour, over those of four years ago? Will those leaders expose themselves to the charge of faction, selfish and unprincipled, in derogation of a principle which they have professed to make the pole-star of their hemisphere? For Virginia I may speak with more confidence. I care not what phase is exhibited in the counterfeit lights of the recent elections. Her people are true. There was never a



moment of her existence, in which if calmly consulted, her response would have varied from the noble and faithful sentiment of John Thomson (Curtius) of Petersburg—"That Federalism (under whatever guise) is never so true to itself, as when false to the country."

If Mr. Calhoun withdraws his support (in any such contest as is like to come) from Mr. Polk, he must forfeit that place in history, which can now be the only object of a virtuous ambition. If he should do so, will his "own gallant State" waive its principles and follow him?

"But Mr. Polk is committed to one term." So was General Washington. So was Mr. Jefferson. (See his letter in which he says that the calumny of the federal party made it his duty, not to himself only but to his party, to ask the verdict of the people in his favour.) So was Mr. Madison, whose second term came up for decision in the midst of a war. Mr. Monroe was both the creature and the victim of *party paralysis*, and had he been its only victim, we should have eschewed many of the evils that will long brood over the federative features of our system. If you will recur to Judge McLean's letter of January, 1829, which I sent you, you will see that he is no friend to the one term presidency.

Mr. Polk was called to power by the voice of the people uttered through a *convention*. He owes it obligations, which he will illy acquit himself of, if he closes up his ears to *any call*, it may hereafter make. There is risk of his defeat, but that risk he cannot allow to outweigh the higher and graver considerations that must address themselves to him. Those who put him into this highest of earthly trusts, have the right to say "our will be done." *No other living man can prevail*, and that is in itself *reason enough*. "*No other living man can prevail*." Can you put your finger upon any one? I am sure that I can not. Nor have I met any man that can. I could write many pages in showing the truth of this postulate, if occasion called for it. These are not hasty opinions made on the spur of the occasion. They are the fruit of continued and deliberate inquiry. I will add of disinterested patriotism. No





one can fill the office of President, who has or ever will have anything in his gift that I wish or would accept. I have sons that are ambitious, as other young men, but their ambition is of another cast and character than that which asks executive favours. My views are soiled by no other motive than such as a patriot may proudly expose to the page of his worst foe.

They are now sent you, and to *you alone*, for your scrutiny. It may be too late to act when the purient haste of the country, in the absence of all alternate choice, shall have wedded its affection to another object. The lever is in your hand, and take care that this machine of Archimedes is not wrested from you, while you linger in deliberation how to use it. I have written you this hasty and disultory letter, that I may ask you to reflect on the topics it touches or cheer you on, if you concur with me.

FROM JOHN STRODE BARBOUR.

Catalpa, Virginia, August 17, 1847.

Dear Sir:—Having to write you on a matter of business, as you will find in the sequel, I take occasion to enclose you the letter you will find herewith; of which it is probable you may have otherwise been already apprised. It came to me in the form it is sent you, without other accompaniment than the envelope which covered it. I felt some scruple in the terms of the printed letter, that it is addressed to me in common with "*some others in whose discretion we rely*," lest a breach of trust may be perpetrated by me (towards the authors) in sending it to you. Fully aware of the magnitude of the mischief, which is indicated in the communication, if submitted to my "*discretion*," I am not so well instructed by it, that the remedy proposed is fitted to the mischief, for I cannot believe, that while the "Union" is in existence "We have no paper in the City of Washington, which in this emergency, has proved a fast and fearless friend." Another point in view. If the purposes of the writers were immaculate of every



sinister wish, it will be more than difficult, to persuade a large portion of the American people, and among them a considerable part of the Republican division of our political sect, that the real designs of the movers in this scheme are those which their address avows. The hardy Tar in his cockboat, by necessity looks one way, whilst he rows the other. But a politician is suspected always of less honesty in purpose, who is seen to toil after the sailor's exemplar. And the best cause is imperilled too often when it is taken within the salient care of any sect that is peculiar or exclusive. While these observations occur on the efforts to set up a press, charged with particular duties and by Sectarians, on whom the distrust (however ill or well founded) of the public has fallen, it ought to be well remembered that the evil set forth by them, is one of growing and portentous magnitude, insinuating itself alarmingly into all the joints and flexures of our politics, and that the time may not be distant, when "like the hot headed Georgian we will have to stand by our arms." These are my thoughts hastily uttered on this doleful topic and to you only; with the belief that you have deliberated this large subject more wisely in the scales of a better judgement and in the firmest hope that the patriotic forecast of the Executive will stem this torrent of mischief with all the effort his high place enables him to employ. In illustration of the anxiety which may well be felt by all at the spread of this passion for emancipation, my friend Judge Field informed me a day or two since, that the young men of the North who come among us are all infected with it, that one of them nearly related to him (by the marriage of his niece) lately said to him that those who affected, in that region of the Confederacy, to hold other sentiments were disguising the truth and that philanthropy and patriotism united their counsels in its support, that two of this young man's brothers-in-law (young Jacksons, sons of E. B. Jackson and nephews of John G. Jackson) had gone North with their sister's husband, for their education, and that each had returned an abolitionist!



The spirit which broke out on the world in the outset of the French Revolution bore the part and guise of Liberty and Humanity, and went on to its evil accomplishment until "crowns and coronets walked in its livery, and realms and islands were but as plates from its pocket."

The enclosure and these suggestions are confidential, and I hope that my vaticinations may never be realized. Depend on it, my Dear Sir, it is time to arrest the evil, before it enter its more evil will to walk its round of ruin.

FROM JOHN STRODE BARBOUR.

Catalpa, Virginia, November 13, 1847.

Dear Sir:—The fall term of our court closed this morning, and wearied with its labours and suffering with other infirmities, I forego the rest needed that I may drop you a few lines.

I think it can not be too earnestly pressed that Mr. Polk should not commit himself more than is already done on another term. It is very apparent that Mr. Clay will be the candidate of the Whig party. General Taylor can not *of his volition*, be in the field as his competitor. That a treaty will be patched up between their friends is probable, and if the omen of the day be watched, it is manifest that Mr. Calhoun will be put up as the candidate in opposition to the National Convention and its nominee, with hopes of having the selection of a President by the House of Representatives and that the contending parties and passions will fall back on his appointment as a choice amidst evils that will become unbearable. The pretensions of the North may defer to the present President, what would not be deferred to a new pretender. Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Dallas (who both deserve well and largely of the South, and I would gladly take one of them if to be had) would be coerced by necessity to delay their aspirations, if we continued the present incumbent. Not so if another is urged into the canvass. Can we take either of these gentlemen at this moment, without perilling the cause? The Life





of Mr. Clay by Colton was published in part to uncover his pretensions from the cloud that the transaction of February, 1825, threw over them, and the testimony collected for this purpose is stronger than any hitherto offered against him. If it be true, as there written, I think it clearly establishes the fact that Buchanan called on General Jackson by the connivance of Clay and with his implied or tacit approbation. And far from confuting the suspicions that cluster over these transactions, it confirms them by proofs drawn from the guilty party. I have had my eye on this, and for future developments, from the moment the book was published.

Should Mr. Buchanan be the nominee against Mr. Clay, half the effect of this evidence so supplied us, will be lost in the canvass. This is a solitary speck in the prospect ahead, to which I advert that your attention may be called. There are others of more controlling influence. I know that I have not an unkind sentiment to Mr. Buchanan, and that I fully appreciate his claims, and will strenuously uphold them, if he obtain the nomination.

I doubt whether Virginia will support any other than Mr. Polk. We are to count upon losses and defections on every side. General Gordon is for Taylor. Governor Smith is locked up in a frozen discretion. I do not think he is for Dallas, Buchanan, or Polk. With a larger share of the federal patronage for 20 years than any other man in Virginia past or present, his mind is distempered with the persuasion, that his deserts are overlooked. We need union for success, for the security of the South, for the safety of our cause and the triumph of its principles. To utter complaint or reproof of any one, is as unwise, as it is uncongenial with feelings to all those, who have acted zealously in support of them. But there are many things passing around me that give me uneasiness. Washington is this winter to be a theater of intrigue. All the vile and all the venal ambition of the confederacy will *be there*, or *look there*, for succor to its hopes and counsel to its action.



FROM WILLIAM L. MARCY.

Albany, New York, July 18, 1849.

Dear Sir:—I was right glad, my Dear Sir, to get another glimpse of your handwriting, not on account of its superior legibility, but because it brought vividly to my mind the remembrance of a much esteemed friend, and the assurance that after *four months absence* from Washington (changed as it is) there are yet persons there who have not forgotten me.

I was sorry to learn that you had been unwell. My sympathy for you is perhaps a little keener on account of my own condition, for I too have been a sufferer. Early in May I sprained my ankle severely and have not yet recovered the free use of it.

The inroad death has made within a few short months among my Washington friends has carried sadness and sorrow to my heart and awakened a train of melancholy reflections. The sudden exit of Mr. Polk was startling. I could hardly bring my mind to realise the truth of the afflicting announcement. But a few days before the sad news reached me, I received a letter from him borne by his nephew, who informed me that he left him not many days before wholly recovered from the illness with which he was attacked on his way home, and hastily employed in providing conveniences and comforts for years of tranquil enjoyment, anticipating the pleasure of visits from some of his Washington friends in the course of the season. All these visions have passed away, and his eventful life has closed.

Others besides yourself have hinted a wish that I should attempt a portrayal of this eminent man, and I have reflected on the subject, and the more I have reflected on it the more unwillingness I have felt to undertake the task. I could not satisfy myself, much less my friends, if I did not go beyond the bare enumeration of the qualities which constitute a distinguished statesman and apply them to our deceased friend. Such a sketch would be merely an ordinary *obituary*. The portrait of a statesman—an eminent statesman who had



reached the highest of human elevation and while there vindicated his just claim to the position he had occupied, should be preceded by or mingled with, the history of the public events in which he participated. The broad foundation of Mr. Polk's enduring fame was laid during his Presidency, and the most brilliant part of that was the Mexican War. Would it not be hazardous *for me* to discourse on that subject? Could I escape the imputation of magnifying the merits of the administration for the ignoble purpose of enhancing my own claims to share in the administration?

It appears to me that Mr. Buchanan offered a good reason for declining the invitation to deliver an eulogy on Mr. Polk, and I presume Mr. Walker declined a similar invitation for the same reason. Mr. Mason, I fear, will feel embarrassed by a like difficulty; but he is a man of genius and ingenuity, and such men can succeed in doing what less gifted men would act rashly to undertake. I will not tire you with other reasons of a general character which strike my mind with considerable force. If all general objections were out of the way, I should reluctantly engage in the task you wish me to perform. What little ability I have, runs, I think, in another and nearly an opposite direction. Tho disinclined to volunteer praise even where I am conscious it is justly due, I may be provoked to assert a just claim where it is injuriously withheld.

New York politics have been generally regarded out of the State as a *tangled skeine*. In my opinion they never were more intricate than at this moment. I have not an announcing faith that the attempt to unite the Democratic party will be successful, yet I have concurred in the steps which have been taken for that purpose. The truth is, the leaders of both sections are pushed forward in this matter by the powers behind them. Those of free soil faction do not mean to yield an inch of ground and have only gone in the measure to retain their followers. The mass on both sides want union. It is more than probable, it is almost certain, that in the convention of the free soil faction the spirit of the leaders will prevail and





dictate its measures. As it respects the question of slavery that convention will stand firm on the Buffalo Platform. Then the question arises what ought the democratic conciliatory convention to do—what can it be induced to do? I fear it will not be under the control of the discreet delegates who may be in it. As a body it will be very anxious for union and disposed to purchase it by unwarrantable concessions. It will be very difficult to get the members as a body to take an enlarged view of the slavery question; their vision will not pierce beyond the narrow horizon that shuts them in. Within this circle are the sources of influence which will be likely to control their action.

All the difficulty will arise from the slavery question. In the conferences between the barnburners and the democrats, the former will ask the latter; are you in favor of slavery? The answer will be no. Are you for extending it to territory now free? The answer again will be No. No other reply can be expected. Then the barnburners will say all the existing difficulty can be at once settled by your consenting to a resolution which embodies in the simplest form your own opinion. It will, my dear sir, be a very difficult matter to prevent the democratic convention from taking this position, and, if so, then members will in effect identify themselves with the proviso men.

Every effort will be made to induce them to take a larger and sounder view of the subject. You are aware how things have gone in Vermont, Maine, Wisconsin, and even in New Hampshire. The first object of the Democrats will be to stand on the Baltimore platform and agree to be silent on the subject of slavery. This failing they will attempt to deny the constitutional right of Congress to act on it, and the last position—the one most likely to be assumed—will be to accompany the expression of their opposition of slavery in the abstract and to its extension beyond limits where it now exists with a declaration that sentiments upon this subject are not to be regarded as constituting any part of the democratic creed.



It is not to be disguised that so far as respects the feeling of the region the free soil faction have the popular side of the question and the democrats the sound side. The one consult local prejudice; the other the general interest. It is to be feared that popular influences may draw democrats over this true line, as has been done in Vermont and Maine.

The Democrats who were faithful in the last election will do what they can to occupy a position which will be satisfactory to their brethren of the South, and I hope they will succeed in their effort. Without being among us you cannot realize all the difficulties they have to contend with. The prominent and sound men among them have reluctantly yielded to the measures for bringing about a union in the hope of distracting from the leaders of the faction a large body of those who have hitherto followed them. I hope the attempt will be successful, but in doing this they expose their party to the hazard of a further division or themselves to be drawn beyond the line they desire to occupy.

Were not our condition desperate so far as respects state politics, the experiment is one that ought not to have been ventured on. When nothing is to be lost a cold game may be played, and such is our condition in the opinion of a majority of our party whose views do not reach beyond the politics of the State.

I fear that what I have said on our political affairs will not shed much "light on your path" or cheer your heart.

FROM WILLIAM L. MARCY.

Albany, New York, November 29, 1849.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of the 18th instant and disposed of the enclosure it contained as you requested. You open a subject too copious to be discussed in a letter. Yet I do not feel disposed to avoid it altogether. In relation to slavery a part of the North has behaved badly and a part of the South, in some respects, most unwisely, and which section is most responsible for the present critical state of the



country I will not now undertake to determine. I wish I could indulge the hope that the North would cease to be mischievous and the South to be unwise. The indications of the course which the South intends to pursue somewhat disturbs my quiet nature. California will send to Congress a constitution containing a clause prohibiting slavery, and on that account the southern members, as it is given out, will oppose its admission into the Union. Such a step will be a fatal error on their part. It will evince a design to introduce slavery into that State against the expressed wish of the people. If the South become propagandist of slavery, they will put themselves where no northern man can co-operate with them. They have now, I lament to say, too few sustainers in the North; in this new move they will lose many of whom they now have. The position which it is said the South will take is wrong in itself—it is unsustainable. They will fail in the attempt and, I fear provoke further agitating measures from the North. I need not tell you how fatal such a step would be to the friends of the South in the free states.

You intimate that General Keley's[?] course in California has been directed by instructions from the present administration. In this I think you are mistaken. I have good reason to believe that he has been left to act upon orders received from the previous one. On the other side T. Butler King's mission is regarded as an attempt on the part of the South to tamper with public sentiment on the subject of slavery in California. It is said the southern members of Congress will withdraw in case the Wilmot Proviso should pass that body, and some complain that the North treat the threat as idle and do not believe the South in earnest. It certainly appears incredible that the Whig supporters of Taylor and Fillmore in the South—which constitute nearly one half of the South—can be guilty of such astounding inconsistency as would be evinced by such a slip on their part. In half of the states General Taylor was presented to the people as a Proviso man, and it was not openly pretended in the other half that he was an anti-proviso man. The southern Whigs in





effect endorsed him in the North as a proviso man by letting it appear that he was so, and by not causing it to appear anywhere that he was otherwise. Fillmore whom they cordially supported was not only a proviso man but a highly modified abolitionist.

Last year nearly one half of the South zealously supported a candidate for President who avowed that he would acquiesce in the doctrines of the proviso and a candidate for vice President who not only professed but had acted on that doctrine, and this year these very consistent politicians threaten to break up the Union, if Congress shall continue to concur in the sentiments of the candidates they so soundly supported. The records of party will not afford another instance of political inconsistency so bold and flagitious if they execute their threat. They will in that case convict themselves, not only in the North but before the whole world of being more strongly attached to their party than to their country—of caring more for political power than for the Union. They should not therefore be surprised that the North rather than lead them with such disgraceful imputations prefer to regard their present menaces as idle bravado.

I know, my dear sir, your fond attachment to the South. I like it too. I am aware that censures on it will warm your feelings, and it is painful to me to allude to their errors, and I would not do so, were it not to show that these errors are the cause of the present forlorn condition of the northern friends of the South. If the South in any considerable numbers resist the admission of California as a state for the cause I have stated, that course will give an irresistible impulse to the anti-slavery movement in all the free states.

I think I told you—I am sure I did many southern gentlemen—that all my hopes of seeing things right in relation to the slavery question depended upon the success of General Cass. He was weakened in the North because he held and openly avowed sentiments favorable to the rights of the South. Five slave holding states preferred a man whose position in the South was more than equivocal in regard to these rights



and who was supported in the North as antagonistic to them.

You may truly say you did not ask me to dwell on past errors, but to indicate the way of deliverance from impending evils. I confess I have not the wisdom to point out that way, and I hope you will excuse my retrospection, for I have been led into it in the hope that by considering the past mistakes we may be induced to be cautious to avoid them in the future. Our condition is not so bad that it cannot be *worsened*, and worsened it will be if the South do not act more wisely than they talk. I again say opposition to the admission of California will be an inexcusable error. If the proviso is passed as a speculative opinion, or as a political dogma, it will not be a sufficient ground or afford a proper reason for secession or for talking about it. If the South conducts itself wisely, they will not resort to any separate action until they are driven to it by a clear and palpable aggression on their distinctive rights. Better live on and hope for the best. This administration is doomed. There must be a change, but all changes do not bring improvements. Under wise counsels and with prudent conduct we may hope to see a truly democratic administration. If we do not, we may be worse off than we now are. A more efficient administration may be a more mischievous one, unless it is more sound in doctrine and more honest in its purposes.

I had the pleasure of meeting your daughter (Mrs. Cross) in the street last week, and was sorry not to see more of her; but she was on the point of leaving for Boston. Mrs. Marcy had a very short but very pleasant call from her.

FROM WILLIAM B. LEWIS.

Nashville, Tennessee, June 18, 1850.

Dear Sir:—Some two months ago, or more, I wrote a letter to General Houston and enclosed in it one for you—having heard nothing from either of you since I am apprehensive Houston has not received it. I think it not unlikely that it reached Washington during his absence, and may have been



overlooked. The General when returning from Texas last winter, or early in the spring, on his way to Washington, passed through Nashville and as I could not go to town to see him, on account of my broken leg, he was kind enough to ride out to my house, and when leaving remarked that I had written him a letter in June, 1836, not long after the battle of San Jacinto, and enclosed him one from you with a request that, after reading it, he would return it to me, and added he wished to obtain a copy of yours as well as his in reply to mine, if I had preserved them. I promised to look over my file of letters and if I could find them I would send him copies. On reflection, however, I thought it would not be proper to send him a copy of your letter without your consent and especially as I did not know what use he intended to make of it, and supposing you and he were on good terms I enclosed the copy in a sealed letter to you and sent it under cover to the General with a request that he would hand or send it to you. As stated before I have had no acknowledgement of their receipt from either of you and the object of my writing to you now is to ascertain whether they ever came to hand. General Houston did not state to me what use he proposed to make of your letter, nor did I enquire of him; but, if his object was to publish it, I imagine you would not have objected, as it would certainly do no discredit to either your head or your heart. Be that as it may, however, I thought it would not be proper for me to furnish a copy of it to anyone without your consent first being had.

Well, my friend, what will Congress do with regard to the slavery question? Will they adopt the arrangement proposed by the Senate Compromise Committee? From the signs of the times I am fearful they will not, and if it be defeated, it will be done by the obstinacy, to use the mildest term, of southern members. What do these gentlemen expect better? Do they imagine they can get the Missouri Compromise Line? If they do, I am sure they will find themselves awfully deceived. Besides, is that a *better*, or a *more honorable* arrangement of the difficulty? I think not, for it looks to me as if we were more





intent upon a division of the *spoils* than to have the difficulty adjusted upon fair, honorable, and constitutional grounds.

In the *Union* of the 7th instant you say that there is a party of distinguished southern gentlemen disposed to go for this Missouri Compromise and nothing else. That I think from the observations I have been able to make, is unfortunately too true. I am sorry too, to believe that if such a party be formed it will be more in reference to men than a desire to have this difficult and all absorbing question settled in a way that will give peace and quiet to the country. That is my wish, and should be the wish of every man desirous of seeing the country blessed with peace, happiness, and prosperity. But I have reason to believe that this is not the feeling of all, either of the North or the South. Altho' living in retirement and attending to my own private affairs, yet I have not been altogether unmindful of passing events. If such a party should be formed in the South, as spoken of above, it should be designated the "Buchanan anti-Cass party." The Missouri Compromise is known to be the Buchanan *platform*, and those southern gentlemen, to whom you refer, have mounted upon it in opposition to the "Cass platform." This, according to my poor vision, is the secret to their hostility and opposition to the Committee's scheme of compromise. But their platform will not stand, and they, with their distinguished leader to help them, cant make it stand; it must and will come to the ground, leaving many of those who occupy it with broken limbs, and some perchance with broken necks. The people of the South want the question *settled*, and I am sure I am not mistaken when I say that a large majority of them, especially the owners of slaves, are willing it should be settled in the way and upon the terms proposed by the Senate's Committee of thirteen with such amendments and modifications as it is likely will be made.

I have said that this new party, if one be formed, should be designated "the Buchanan anti Cass Party," and I have not made the remark without feeling fully authorised to do so. Do you not recollect the letters that were written to the



New York Herald, some two or three years ago, by its Washington correspondent, who was said to be a confidential clerk in the State Department? The writer of those letters seemed to have two principal objects in view—one to praise the Secretary of State, the other to disparage Senator Cass. I remember them well and read them with great dissatisfaction, and wondered that Mr. Buchanan would allow a clerk in his department thus to disparage and malign one of democracy's favorite sons and ablest champions. As an Irish friend of mine used to say "Fairplay is a jewel"; and, I will add, especially among friends. Mr. Buchanan and myself have always been personally upon good terms, but he ought not to have permitted a clerk of his thus to have spoken of General Cass. I recollect, in one of his letters to the Herald, he spoke of the General as no *debater*, wanting in *sagacity and tact*, not a *proper person* to be at the head of the Military Committee, and that Mr. Senator Davis from Mississippi would be a much better selection for that position. A circumstance occurred in the Senate chamber, also, some two or three months since, which I could but remark, for it made a strong impression on my mind and brought to my recollection what is said in the Herald letter, referred to above, in relation to Senator Davis. Mr. Seward of New York was making his celebrated abolitionist speech, and in the course of his remarks he, or Mr. Hale, charged Mr. Buchanan with having said, in one of his speeches, that the democrats of the North were the natural friends and allies of the democratic slave holders of the South (or something to that effect for I have not the speech before me) whereupon Mr. King and Mr. Davis promptly denied the charge and challenged Mr. Hale to produce a speech of Mr. Buchanan's containing such a remark. Not satisfied with this Mr. Davis put himself to the trouble of hunting up and reading to the Senate Mr. Buchanan's speech, referred to by Seward, or Hale, to prove the falsity of the charge. Knowing the intimacy and long continued friendship existing between Colonel King, and Mr. Buchanan I was not at all surprised at the promptness with which he undertook to defend



his friend, but I confess I was surprised to see Mr. Davis manifesting such interest in his welfare, and it was this that reminded me of the Herald letter; and which, I think, an *unmistakable sign* in the political zodiac. Mr. Soule has also, it seems, mounted the Buchanan platform, but he is not the head of this new southern party. If not clearer and brighter, it has older and more experienced heads than his—one belongs to Alabama and the other to New Orleans. Mr. Slidell who is an intimate friend of Mr. Soule, I understand, is not less devoted to Mr. Buchanan than Colonel King and is more hostile to General Cass whose nomination, by the Baltimore Convention in 1844, he did every thing he could to defeat by getting the delegates from his State to vote, on every ballot, for Mr. Buchanan, when it was apparent to every body that he could not possibly obtain the nomination. Mr. Slidell was not even a delegate, as I was told at the time, being a member of Congress, but took the trouble to go to Baltimore to use his influence to prevent the nomination of Cass and electioneer for Mr. Buchanan. You may suppose then that one so devoted to Mr. Buchanan will leave no stone unturned in his effort to build up this new party.

So far as regards the democrats of this state they are almost unanimous in favor of General Cass as their next candidate for the presidency. Many think that both justice and honor demand his renomination. Not to do it would be black and damning ingratitude in their estimation, after throwing himself in the breach in support and defence of southern rights. His friends of the Northwest were greatly dissatisfied with the vote of the South at the last election, believing that they had been deserted by their democratic friends in the slave holding states. They expect his renomination; they demand it as a right; and should it not be done Democracy, in my humble opinion, may fold her robes around her and prepare to die with dignity. Are you acquainted with Mr. Disney of the Cincinnati District? If not I wish you would make his acquaintance and talk with him in relation to the feelings and wishes of the democracy of the Northwest. He is a man of







talents and of honor and will give you correct and useful information. I know that Mr. Buchanan is working to get the nomination, for he is in correspondence with a friend of his in Nashville, and only one, I believe, he has there. Now Buck ought not to do this. He is young enough to wait a few years longer; he is some 7 or 8 years General Cass' junior. Besides he will make himself enemies in the Northwest and Southwest who never will vote for him. There are men who are by no means satisfied with the vote of Pennsylvania at the last election, and who think that if he and his friends there had done their duty the democratic party would now be in power, and the present dangers and difficulties with which we are surrounded would have been avoided. I go for General Cass because I know he is eminently qualified for the position, because I know he is a patriot of enlarged and liberal views, because I know there is no man, North or South, who would be more resolutely determined to do equal and impartial justice to every section of the country, to the South as well as to the North, and because I know he is a pure, upright, and honorable man, and those things I say of him after an intimate acquaintance, in public and private life, for more than twenty years.

I have already written you a much longer letter than I expected when I took up my pen, and must come to a close, remarking first, however, that what I have written is intended only for your own eyes.

And now my old friend (if you will allow me to call you friend, after a "non-intercourse" of more than five years) go on and do your duty to your country regardless of threats and denunciations, whether they proceed from the Senate chamber or the newspaper press. Every body here approves and lauds your course, as entitling you to the thanks of the whole country, and every body here, with a very few exceptions, if any, are in favor of the arrangement proposed by the Senate committee. Fear not, all will come right—the country will be saved, the Union will be saved, and the *rights* of the South will be protected and taken care of, for I have an abid-



ing faith in the honest and the entilgence of the people of this great nation. I beg to be kindly remembered to General Foote with whom I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted towards the close of General Jackson's administration. He too deserves the thanks of the whole country for his manly and patriotic efforts to get these unhappy difficulties settled, and to restore peace and quiet to the country. I beg to be kindly remembered, also, to my old friend, General Cass. I have been intending to write to him for a long time, but for the last six month I have scarcely been able to write, being the greater part of the time confined to my bed, first by a badly fractured leg, and afterwards by a severe attack of pneumonia which had nearly taken me to my grave.

TO THOMAS GREEN.

Washington, D. C., March, 1851.

Dear Sir:—It is worse than idle to disguise from ourselves the truth, bitter as it is. You will see from the enclosed paper, just received, that the net is gradually drawing around me. I cannot escape it.

There is at this time and under present circumstances, but one way, and that is *to sell the Union*. If not sold in three weeks it must stop of itself, and then it will be worth only its type and its presses, which would scarcely command \$8,000.00. Foote told me last night that he could get \$18,000.00 from Donelson, in three annual installments, well secured, and on interest. This perchance, would enable me to save a fragment (my house) until Congress meets and gives me relief.

We have, therefore, but very few moves on the chess-board. If you indulge your sanguine temper, I am gone. For my own part I am willing to sell out the paper for \$18,000.00. I place the matter in your hands. Decide and act for me at once, for I should not be surprised if Foote were to leave Washington tomorrow.



TO THOMAS GREEN.

Norfolk, Virginia, March 14, 1854.

Dear Sir:—I have opened Gwin's note.

My own decided impression is that you had better accede, unless you think it better to attempt the new feature about the Census.

Perhaps you had better put it thus:

Mr. Ritchie authorizes me under the most imperious necessity to accept your best terms. He must get relief from Congress and adopts the advice of his Senatorial friends given on Wednesday last, to obtain it by retiring from the press.

Though he thinks his establishment is really worth more than what he asked, he makes no conditions about it, nor does he bind Major Donelson to pay him a cent more; but he hopes if his own adequate relief be not obtained at the next session of Congress, that the Major will hereafter allow him to add \$5,000. You laugh at this, but don't let that stand in the way of closing the bargain. I must close this matter. It may save me. I cannot trust to the chapter of accident for it.

Friend Green, do as I beg you, and let us be done with this business. And please arrange the details as soon as possible, according to the other terms you specified in your letter to Dr. Gwin.

FROM HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.

Norfolk, Virginia, March 14, 1854.

Dear Sir:—I wish it were in my power to give you any aid in the good cause of which you are the herald; but for the next two months I shall be engaged entirely in matters already in hand and in my general business.

Let me say to you that I take a different view of the motives and views of the early settlers from those generally in vogue; and which are borrowed from the Plymouth settlement. The last was essentially a religious settlement, a settlement of high principles, and, although it was marked by peculiarities and what at a slight glance may be regarded in-





consistencies, was in the main a grand and noble achievement in the history of human affairs. Our Jamestown settlement was essentially a trading adventure. Gold was its object, and although the only gold sent over was proved to be dross, and tobacco became the substance of the exports, still the principle was the same. Our early history, or to speak strictly, our first settlement, was altogether a commercial adventure, and nothing more or less can be made out of it historically. But, having admitted on this score all that truth and history demand, it seems to me that the first great lesson to be drawn from it is the peculiar adaptedness of the Anglo-Saxon race to found and sustain free institutions. In a little while the counties were founded, the Grand Assembly, consisting of the Burgesses and the Council (the modern Senate) held its sittings, and the ordinances for the government and business of the colony were duly enacted. There was a virtual rehabilitation of the British system at once; and the firmness with which the House of Burgesses from time to time in its difficulties with the royal Governors defended its privileges, deserved all praise. And here let me remind you at once of an important discovery made by Conway Robinson in the State paper office (London) of the ordinances, names of the Burgesses, etc., of the first General Assembly at Jamestown held July 30, 1619. Hening and Stith allude to the session, but could find no trace of its proceedings. It would be a glorious paper to produce on your anniversary. No copy has as yet been taken, but Conway Robinson can cause one to be made at any time.

The next great lesson to be drawn from the true history of the colony was its condition during the Protectorate of Cromwell, when it was in all respects a free government, sustaining itself by its own energies, making its own laws, and trading with all nations. This is in my opinion the most notable and most glorious achievement in our history thus far. Let me observe that I shall dissent from Robertson, Burke, and others who assert the loyalty of Virginia to the Stuarts. I firmly believe that Virginia was as firmly republican then as England herself (and a great deal more so) and as she has



been since. This fact of our history deserves to be established, but the tracts necessary to establish my view irrefragably are not in Virginia. I say and believe that it can be proved that Virginia was as thoroughly republican then as she was in 1776. If otherwise, why did she appoint the representatives of Cromwell Governor, and other men their successors of the same type? And why did the first assembly under Charles the 2nd expunge all the acts of the previous assembly? (which by the way it afterwards adopted in detachments). Why were the Cromwell members all left out on the restoration and others elected in their places? Of course in this hasty letter I cannot go into detail, but look at the Revolution of 1776. Why did the people, if they liked the British system, throw every one of its leading supports overboard? primogeniture, entails, established church etc., the last in spite of some of the ablest men of the Revolution? At the time of the Revolution there was a majority *against* the established church according to Mr. Jefferson.

And if there ever was an error, it is that of imputing the 'free spirit of the Virginian to the few cavaliers, or men of noble blood who came over at the beginning of the colony, and especially during the troubles in Cromwell's time. It is a slander upon the great body of the colonists. The chivalry of the Virginia character is not to be traced to the miserable offshoots of the British aristocracy, but to our manners, habits, and state of affairs. We were a *slaveholding, tobacco planting, Anglo-Saxon* people. Our character sprang from this source. You see at once how the idea can be amplified, and how much more philosophical it is to impute our great characteristics, not to the petty consideration of the arrival of a few cavaliers so-called, but to the distinctive qualities of the race from which we sprung as developed in the earliest times in England. Who was it that flogged the cavaliers out of their doublets, slew their king, conquered on every field foreign and domestic, and made the name of England terrible among the nations? Not the cavalier, but the great mass of the British



yeomanry—the Anglo-Saxon stock—the bone and sinew of the English people?

By the way I am Scotch by my maternal grandparents, but English by the paternal altogether. My paternal ancestors came over at the restoration, and their names have existed ever since, not among the high and titled, but among the people at large. I mention this circumstance to show that I could put in my claim of old Virginia date as well as most others; but, be assured, the whole talk about our cavalier origin can be brushed aside and readily.

P. S. In looking over what I have hastily written, I see that I have looked very cursorily upon the great distinctive features of our settlement and early history. Rest assured that the great considerations touching the Reformation and the progress of free principles do not apply to us except as an integral part of the British people; still enough exists in our history to make a most honorable exhibit of our character and conduct from 1606 to 1765, when Henry's resolutions against the stamp act were passed. I would make the great epochs to be three in number—the readiness with which the settlers adopted the great and peculiar schemes of representation and liberty which had been fixed in the British constitution after years of blood and trial; secondly, the selfpossession and skill, with which they assumed the reigns of government in the time of Cromwell, and the admirable manner in which they administered their government during the protectorate, at which time Virginia was essentially an independent State; and thirdly, the resolution displayed by the Burgesses in 1765, in opposing the Stamp act on the grounds of the great principles of British freedom, which finally resulted in the declaration of independence from foreign rule.

I should rejoice to see the fanfaronade about "cavaliers" and religious and political liberty as one of the causes of the Jamestown settlement exploded by one who, like myself, has ever maintained the doctrines of republicanism. I should like to spend a day with you at Brandon and talk these things over.













